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ABSTRACT

The three primary aims of this report were to investigate whether or not the single gratifications associated with the use of different mass media form some gratification dimensions more basic in their nature; to explore in what way these dimensions are related to the actual mass media content choices of the audience; and to investigate the way education is related to the kinds of gratifications obtained from media and to the kinds of content consumed from them. The data for these inquiries were collected from various groups of people in Finland. The first chapter discusses the background of the report. The second chapter discusses the structure of gratifications, examining such topics as dimensions of gratifications associated with mass media use and summarizing the conclusions. The third chapter discusses dimensions of gratifications and content choices, examining such topics as relationships between gratification dimensions and content choices with respect to newspapers and summarizes the conclusions. The fourth chapter discusses education and the dimensions of gratifications and content choices. The fifth chapter contains a summary and final conclusions. (TS)

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1. THE BACKGROUND OF THIS REPORT

According to Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch (1973) the beginning of the so-called "uses and gratifications" research goes back to that of empirical mass communication research. Such studies were well represented in the Lazarsfeld-Stanton collections published in 1940, 1944 and 1949. After these, however, activity in this research area grew rather slowly and was, at least in proportional terms, depressed by other areas, for instance that of the effects of mass media. Only the last years have witnessed something of a revival of direct empirical investigations of audience uses and gratifications. And this has happened not only in the United States but also in other western countries[1].

In Finnish mass communication research the inquiry into the audience's images regarding the functions of mass media was already included in the first large-scale audience survey financed by the Finnish Broadcasting Company. This was conducted in 1965. The ideas on which the study of function-images was based in this survey originated from the Steiner's book (1963). After that for a few years questions concerning these images were asked in nearly all interviews aimed to map out the audience's mass media use habits. This kind of data collection as well as a more detailed inquiry into this research area were, however, discontinued after some years, because the problem of uses and gratifications was no longer held important.

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[1] An example of this was the Conference of Uses and Gratifications Studies, held in Stockholm in October 1973. This Conference has also inspired the present report, although I did not participate in it.

The different Finnish data concerning the audience's function-images of the mass media have not yet been totally utilized. Some of the main results in these studies have been reported in Finnish (Littunen and Pietilä 1967; Nordenstreng 1969b; Pietilä 1969b and 1970b). Some studies touching this research have also been published in English (Nordenstreng 1969c; Pietilä 1969a, 1970a and 1971).

Our purpose here is to utilize some part of the data mentioned in order to present a more general picture of the Finnish audience uses and gratifications. The scope of this report is, however, rather limited, but it has been planned as the first report in series of three to four dealing with this question. Here we are investigating first, whether or not the single gratifications associated with the use of different mass media form some gratification dimensions more basic in their nature. If such dimensions can be observed our second task is to explore in what way these dimensions are related to the actual mass media content choices of the audience.

In order to make our research problem more precise we must clarify somewhat the way of thinking characteristic of uses and gratifications studies. The basic paradigm behind these studies can perhaps be described in the following way (K. Pietilä 1973):

1. We have an individual with various needs, trying actively to satisfy them.
2. One possibility for this need satisfaction is offered by mass media.
3. Selection of mass media contents according to need arousal and consumption of them takes place.
4. As a result of this activity the needs are satisfied and the tensions reduced - until the needs make themselves felt again and a second round begins.

In the uses and gratifications studies the basic phenomenon to be studied in the context of mass media use and consumption of their content is composed of the human needs. This point of departure is well reflected in the following description of these studies (Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch 1973, 7):

> Some of these investigations begin by specifying needs and then attempt to trace the extent to which they are gratified by the media or by other sources. Others take observed gratifications as a starting-point and attempt to reconstruct the needs which are being gratified. Yet others focus on the social origins of audience expectations and gratifications.

This point of departure can be evaluated from several points of view. We may first ask what is the purpose of such uses and gratifications studies. For instance Emmett (1968) has suggested that mass media institutions should aim to maximise the gratifications that the audience, in all its variety, derives from the services offered. In the light of this suggestion the purpose and necessity of uses and gratifications studies seem to be clear. The Emmett suggestion has, however, been criticised on the basis that it for instance emphasizes individual needs, not taking into account the more general needs of the wh le of society (Nordenstreng 1970; cf. also Nordenstreng 1973, 84-85).

Although we may accept that one of the important goals for mass media functioning is to increase the satisfaction their content gives to people, another question is whether or not this satisfaction is most fruitfully described <u>in terms of need satisfaction</u>. This remark issues from the vague nature of the concept of need. Even the staunchest defendors of uses and gratifications studies admit that the definition of need or needs and their measurement have been far from satisfactory (see. e.g. Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch 1973, 23-24 and 26-28).

The vagueness of this concept is well reflected for instance in the fact that suggestions for the most suitable typology or framework of needs vary considerably between different researchers (see Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch 1973, 12-14; cf. also Lundberg and Hultén 1968, 53-54). Consequently it is not surprising that the theoretical and empirical work regarding the relationships between different contents and needs gratified by them has not advanced

very far. Also the methods designed to tag the different needs or gratifications obtained from the media for these needs vary from relatively simple and straightforward techniques to more indirect ways (see Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch 1973, 26).

In this situation there are two possible modes of approaching the problem. Either the concept of need must be so far refined that it will have explanatory power or some new angle must be found. The purpose of this report, however, is neither. Because we here present results of data collected several years ago, we are bound to the rather unsophisticated thinking that at that time guided our data collection. The above critical remarks are presented in order to provide a basis for evaluation of the results reported here.

Let us now take a closer look at the concept of gratification. In the context of need-satisfaction theory this concept denotes the effect that the content of mass media may have on the receiver. In other words, some content may or may not gratify some special need of the receiver. In this respect the conceptual relationship between needs and gratifications seems to be quite simple. But actually by reason of the twofold nature of the concept of need it is not so.

On the one hand needs can be conceived as motives leading to contacts with objects thought to satisfy them. In this case the contact behaviour of an individual is understood in terms of his needs. On the other hand needs can be conceived as phenomena which are gratified by contacts with objects. In this case the need satisfaction of an individual is understood on the basis of his contact behaviour. Now it is important to note that from the needs gratified by some object we cannot draw direct conclusions as to those needs which caused the contact with that object. 7

The above reasoning indicates two different approaches in uses and gratifications studies. Either we can try to describe or

explain the content choices of receivers in terms of their needs or describe of explain their needs satisfaction in terms of the mass media content they have received. The concept of gratification is useful primarily in the latter case. This depends on the relationship between needs and gratifications, which is of the nature described above, namely that from the gratifications afforded by a given content we cannot directly conclude what needs caused the selection of that content.

The two approaches can, of course, be united in research for instance by first mapping out the motivational situation of individuals, then observing their media behaviour and lastly surveying the gratifications they have obtained from it. At theoretical level they are united by the concept of learning. That is, if people while using the media learn what kind of content gratifies what kind of needs, then the motives leading to selection of certain content can be understood in terms of gratifications gained from it. Another question is whether such learning takes really place and whether actual behaviour is determined by such phenomena. When, however, these thoughts are taken into account, the second sentence in the paradigm presented above is turned into the following: He has learned that a certain content in mass media is able to satisfy these needs.

This concept of learning is fruitful for other reasons, too. Namely if an individual learns that a given kind of content is able to gratify a given need, he is at the same time forming an image concerning the function of that kind of content from the point of view of his need satisfaction. On the basis of such function-images of contents he may also form images concerning the functional roles of different media as a whole.

On the other hand it is clear that such learning does not take place solely on the grounds of personal experiences. Most probably it is also affected by the cultural standards and values prevailing in the environment where the individual lives. In fact the images assigned to different kinds of content or to different media by cultural standards can affect the image-formation of an individual more than his personal experiences. And what is more, the needs to be satisfied by mass media content may be produced to a great extent by these cultural standards.

This preceding reasoning is important from the point of view of the measurement of gratifications. One of the simple techniques is the following (cf. Lundberg and Hultén 1968, 200-201). We first form a set of statements dealing with purposes for which a certain kind of content or a medium as a whole can be used. These statements are presented to respondents and their task is to rate which of them describe their consumption of the content or their use of the medium in question. They can also rate by a numerical scale how adequately each of them describe it, by assigning a high score to those purpose-statements describing it well and a low score to those describing it badly.

On the basis of such ratings we then conclude that the content or medium in question gratifies best those purposes obtaining on the average high scores. We are, further, apt to conclude that the functional role of that content or medium is to gratify just these purposes. But because the outside pressure of cultural standards may affect people's image-formation, a difficult question arises. Does the content or medium in question really gratify those purposes receiving a high median score value, or does this result simply reflect a culturally determined conception as to the nature of that content or medium? In the latter case the use of the word gratification would be quite misleading.

There is another difficulty, too. As Augedal (1973, cf. also Lundberg and Hultén 1968, 69-70) has pointed out, cultural standards may also have an effect on the acceptability of different purpose-statements. In other words, some purposes have a higher prestige than others in the context of a prevailing culture. For instance the purpose of raising one's general knowledge is surely held in greater esteem than that of getting away from daily worries. If a respondent's reactions to the purpose-statements are determined by such prestige factors, the answers cannot describe gratifications obtained from the content or medium in a very truthful way.

These are difficult questions indeed. But they are not the only ones. We have previously argued that on the basis of gratifications gained from a given content we cannot directly assume the needs which have caused the selection of it. Despite this we can say that this content may gratify some needs. But what is now the relationship between a given purpose-statement or gratification and a need? That is, can we derive from a given purpose-statement directly the need lying behind it or not? Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch (1973, 14) have set forth some suggestions as to what kinds of gratifications correspond to what kinds of needs, but these remain at the level of speculation. They have only face validity.

If the needs behind different gratifications cannot be derived directly, are there some indirect ways? If we for instance observe that some purpose-statements having a conceptually similar content form empirically one single dimension, this result may be understood and interpreted in terms of some underlying need which is reflected by these purpose-statements. But this is also a conclusion having only face validity, because the appearance of the dimension may depend on totally other factors than needs. Thus, owing to the

vagueness of the need concept and theory, there is no generally acceptable way to demonstrate what needs underlie different gratifications.

We drew a distinction above between two approaches possible in uses and gratifications studies. Of these the latter has had a clear dominating position as can be seen from studies quoted in Lundberg's and Hultén's book (1968, 197-381) as well as from the description of these studies by Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch cited previously (see page 3). The researchers have thus mainly been interested in description of what purposes ofthe audience are gratified by different content or media or for what purposes they are used. Perhaps it should be emphasized that most of these studies have been descriptions of people's function-images rather than real attempts at explanation of their need satisfaction by their content or media choices.

The former approach, the description or explanation of the audience's media and content choices in terms of their needs, has not, as far as I know, advanced to any extent worth mentioning. There are of course difficulties connected with this kind of approach. Some could, however, be overcome by using experimental methods in need arousal. After that mass media behaviour of experimental and control groups could be investigated and compared. If it is frequently observed that the arousal of a certain need leads to higher use of a certain medium or consumption of a certain content than the non-arousal of it, we could conclude that the need in question causes that kind of mass media behaviour.

These viewpoints will perhaps suffice to form a background for the results on the following pages. In the terms used above we are here trying to describe the structure of people's function-images and the way mass media as well as other similar institutions

are weighted according to them. Our second purpose in this report differs somewhat from the usual description of people's function-images. We are namely investigating whether or not people using a given medium for given purposes select a different kind of content from it than people using it for other purposes. We are thus trying to describe how different gratifications obtained from media are related to the kinds of content consumed from them. Some hypotheses regarding these relationships will be presented after examination of the structure of function-images in the following chapter.

In the previous pages we emphasized that the formation of people's function-images concerning mass media may depend only partially on their personal mass media experiences. Among other factors the cultural pressure prevailing in the environment may affect this formation. If this is true, people belonging to different subcultures may develop function-images differing from each other. One phenomenon contributing to subcultural differences between people is the level of their education. Consequently the third aim in this report is to investigate the way education is related on the one hand to the kinds of gratifications obtained from media and on the other to the kinds of content consumed from them.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF GRATIFICATIONS

The operational measurement of gratifications associated with mass media use is based on the assumption that "people are sufficiently self-aware to be able to report their interests and motives in particular cases or at least to recognize them when confronted with them in an intelligible and familiar verbal formulation" (McQuail, Blumler and Brown 1972, 143; cf. also Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch 1973, 10). As we emphasized in the previous section it cannot be taken for granted, however, that reported gratifications correspond to real gratifications obtained from some content or medium.

Our point of departure here is that reported gratifications associated with the use of a given medium reflect the function-images people have concerning this medium. So far as these function-images are based on personal need-satisfaction experiences they will reflect real gratifications. But there is in this report no way to show how far the function-images are so based. Therefore it would perhaps be better to speak only of function-image instead of gratification. But since the latter term is very commonly used we will not reject it but use both words to denote the reported gratifications.

By the structure of function-images we mean the relationship between different single gratifications. We expect that gratifications similar in their type and content will tend to form clusters of their own. If such clusters are found, then obviously there is behind the different single gratifications some gratification or function-image dimensions more basic in nature. The present

report will not, however, offer any hypotheses as to the nature and content of such dimensions.

In the previous section we presented a way commonly used in gratification measurement. When gratifications are measured by purpose-statements in the way described, however, two things should be kept separate from each other. The one is people's conception of the intensity or saliency of the different purposes or goals for them, the other is their conception of the instrumentality of media in fulfilling these goals (see Lundberg and Hultén 1968, 56-62). We did not, however, keep them separate, which causes some trouble in interpretation of the results.

As Lundberg and Hultén (1968, 74-88) point out, there are several possible modes of selection and formation of purpose-statements for the study. The best way naturally is to derive them on the basis of some relevant theories or frames of reference on the one hand, and on the basis of open-formed pilot studies on the other. In the first of the forthcoming studies the purpose-statements were, however, formed on the basis of a previous study made in the United States. In other studies to be described here the formation of them is based more on theoretical viewpoints.

In our inquiry into people's function-images of mass media the media studied were newspapers, television and radio. In exploring the possible dimensions of gratifications or function-images we are not, however, restricted solely to gratifications associated with mass media use. For the purposes of comparison also the structure of gratifications associated with the use of libraries and with participation in adult education will be examined.

2.1. Dimensions of gratifications associated with mass media use

The data for this inquiry were collected in summer 1967 in connection with a readership study of a newspaper published in a south-eastern town in Finland. The data were collected by mailed questionnaires, to which a total of 303 persons answered. This number was only 33 per cent of the total original sample.

Out of the ten purpose-statements used in this study eight were formed on the basis of statements used by McLeod, Ward and Tancill (1965) in their inquiry into the relationships between alienation and media gratifications. In selection of statements they were guided by the idea that 'reasons' for mass media use can be divided into two broader classes: namely informational and vicarious. The latter class comprises the use of mass media for 'escape' or for substitution of more personal contacts. For both of the classes three statements were formed. In addition to these six statements another three pointing at 'other reasons' were formed.

In our study some of the statements of McLeod, Ward and Tancill were phrased quite differently, while some others were phrased in an almost identical way. One was rejected and two additional statements were formed. In the questionnaire these statements were set down as "different reasons for mass media use". The respondent's task was to rate with a seven-point scale how adequately each of these "reasons" described his use of the mass media. The media to be rated were the newspaper which sponsored the study (this will from now on be referred to ask the local newspaper or LN), other newspapers (ON), television (TV) and radio (RD). 15

Thus a respondent having access to all of the four media had to make 40 ratings (four media rated along ten purpose-statements). The presentation form of the question was such that all the media

the respondent had access to were first rated according to the first purpose-statement, then according to the second and so on. These purpose-statements are presented in the following tables.

In order to get a general picture of the way the different media ratings were linked to each other a factor analysis using the 40 ratings as separate variables was performed. It was naturally computed only on the basis of those respondents having access to all of the four media in question. The first thing worth noting in the results obtained is that the ratings tend to have a rather cumulative pattern. This is reflected in the fact that the first factor explained almost a half (46 per cent) of the common variance explained by the ten factors taken into account. (This sommon variance was 69 per cent of total variance.) Thus it seems that if media are rated as highly used for one purpose they are rated as highly used for other purposes, too, and vice versa.

In this factor analysis no clear medium-bound factors were observed. By a medium-bound factor we mean such in which all the purpose-statements associated with a given medium have high loadings. On the contrary, the factors were more gratification-bound in their nature. By this again we naturally mean such a factor in which all four media within a single purpose-statement or within a group of them have high loadings.

According to this result it seems that people can more readily discriminate between different gratifications than between different media within single gratifications. That is, if one says that a given purpose describes well his use of one medium, he is apt to say that it describes well his use of other media, too, and vice versa. Thus the different media seem to have a common basis in performing their functions, although some gratifications are gained more readily from a given medium and some other from another medium. This will be considered more closely later on.

On the basis of this result we formed new gratification variables measuring gratifications associated with media use in general. The values of each of these were simply means of the values the respondents had attached to the media within each single purpose-statement. This procedure enabled us to take into account also those respondents not having access to all of the four media. A factor analysis was then performed on the basis of these general gratifications. Here the cumulative pattern of ratings was even clearer than before. The first factor out of the four taken into account explained 75 per cent of the common variance covered by them (this common variance was 58 per cent of total variance). The second factor explained only 17, the third 5 and the fourth 3 per cent of common variance.

According to the formal criteria for selecting factors for rotation, only the first two would have been admitted. Owing to the theoretical attractiveness of the third factor it was decided, however, to take the first three factors into it. The results of the varimax-rotation is presented in Table 1.

In the first factor most heavily loaded are the following statements: "to get away from daily worries", "to bring some excitement into my life" and "to prevent feelings of being alone". These three statements are, in fact, just those three formulated by McLeod, Ward and Tancill for the class of vicarious 'reasons'. Thus their intuitive conception of the existence of such a cluster of 'reasons' has gained empirical support. Besides these three the statement "to pass my leisure time" gains a relatively high loading in this factor. This first factor clearly describes the use of mass media for purposes of diversion or 'escape' from daily routine. Thus it is called <u>the dimension of diversion gratifications</u>.

Table 1. Dimensions of gratifications associated with the use of mass media in general. Varimax-rotation with three factors (N = 303; decimal points have been omitted).

purpose-statements (I use mass media in order ...)	factors I	II	III
to gather information on the background of different events	12	68	29
to keep me up with the times	13	76	04
to get away from daily worries	73	21	13
to bring some excitement into my life	75	04	29
to prevent feelings of being alone	77	10	12
to get help in solving problems	45	19	55
to get something to talk about with others	48	23	48
to enjoy reading, watching or listening to	49	37	21
to pass my leisure time	67	25	26
to gather information on new products	25	45	46

In the second factor there are only two statements having a considerable loading: namely "to gather information on the background of different events" and "to keep me up with the times". Both of these are among those McLeod, Ward and Tancill formed for the class of informational 'reasons'. So their intuitive conception of the existence of this kind of cluster of 'reasons' has also gained empirical support. This factor is not, however, called the dimension of information gratifications, because the content of these two statements is rather inarticulate. Their common denominator is not information in any precise sense but in broader terms. It is perhaps best understood in terms of orientation. On the basis of this interpretation this factor is called the dimension of orientation gratifications.

The third factor is more obscure than the preceding two. Only one of the purpose-statements, namely "to get help in solving problems", has a loading over .50. Also the statement "to gather information on new products" loads slightly higher in this factor than in the second, where it also loads considerably. Semantically

considered both of these statements deal with information in quite a practical or 'utilitarian' sense. Of the remaining statements the only one having a corresponding utility content, namely "to get something to talk about with others", also gets quite a high loading in this factor, thus supporting the conception that this factor represents the use of mass media for practical or utility purposes. It is therefore called the dimension of utility gratifications.

At least in Sweden the structure of mass media gratifications has been studied in a similar way (Kjellmor 1973; cf. also McQuail, Blumler and Brown 1972). Unfortunately the report I have of this study contains neither the purpose-statements used in it nor the numerical results of factor analyses performed there. In any case the factor analyses yielded three factors, which were named as follows: "Freedom from responsibility and role obligations", "Self-improvement" and "Social utility". On the basis of the verbal characterization of these factors it seems that the first of them corresponds to our dimension of diversion gratifications, the second that of orientation gratifications and the third that of utility gratifications.

An important question is how the emergence of these factors found here can be interpreted. In setting out the background of this report we said that if purpose-statements having conceptually similar content form one single cluster or dimension this result could be understood and interpreted in terms of some underlying need. Such an interpretation would perhaps be the most usual in this case. 19

But the emergence of these factors can be understood and interpreted in other ways, too. For instance it may be that people have got accustomed to think about mass media in terms of entertainment,

enlightenment (orientation) and practical information. In that case the emergence of the factors would perhaps only mean that people are reacting in a logically consistent way, on the basis of the kind of verbal usage vis-à-vis the mass media they have learned, to the verbal stimuli in the purpose-statements. We will return to this problem of interpretation later on.

In any case the results thus far show that the ratings of media along the different purpose-statements show a rather cumulative pattern. This perhaps reflects a general evaluation of mass media. If they are valuated, they are rated high on the statements, and if not, they are rated low on them. Behind this general tendency toward cumulation there are, however, some dimensions of gratifications differing somewhat from each other. Thus we can say that while there is a general tendency to assign relatively similar values to the media on all of the purpose-statements, there is also a tendency to rate the media in an even more similar way on those purpose-statements forming conceptual clusters on the basis of their semantic proximity.

Different factor analyses corresponding to the one above were also performed for each of the four media being rated in this study. Those respondents having no access to the medium for which each particular analysis was performed were left out of that analysis. - The general cumulative tendency of ratings was, as before, clearly perceptible in these factor analyses. In the analysis for local newspaper the first factor out of the four taken into account covered 76 per cent of the common variance explained by them together. In the analysis for other newspapers the corresponding figure was 69, in that for television 70 and in that for radio 75 per cent. In the analysis for local newspaper the common variance explained by the four factors was 59 per cent of total variance, in

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Table 2. Dimensions of gratifications associated with the use of local newspaper and other newspapers. Varimax-rotations with 3 factors (N=303 for local newspaper and 241 for other newspapers).

purpose-statements	factors for local newspaper			factors for other newspapers		
(I use the LN/ON in order ...)	I	II	III	I	II	III
to gather information on the background of different events	16	76	17	16	76	18
to keep me up with times	16	79	04	05	79	18
to get away from daily worries	77	16	16	71	19	19
to bring some excitement into my life	79	15	19	77	-01	22
to prevent feelings of being alone	79	20	15	79	09	10
to get help in solving problems	43	33	47	50	14	52
to get something to talk about with others	46	16	47	50	13	42
to enjoy reading	48	35	22	47	24	37
to pass my leisure time	67	19	32	73	09	24
to gather information on new products	21	59	41	12	32	56

Table 3. Dimensions of gratifications associated with the use of television and radio. Varimax-rotation with 3 factors (N = 244 for television and 296 for radio).

purpose-statements	factors for television			factors for radio		
(I use TV/RD in order ...)	I	II	III	I	II	III
to gather information on the background of different events	15	62	34	13	72	30
to keep me up with the times	09	73	11	23	78	14
to get away from daily worries	58	18	14	75	20	12
to bring some excitement into my life	78	02	17	61	09	46
to prevent feelings of being alone	77	01	28	69	11	37
to get help in solving problems	35	11	61	31	19	61
to get something to talk about with others	44	24	48	45	23	49
to enjoy watching or listening to	50	41	17	52	38	20
to pass my leisure time	53	19	18	68	19	27
to gather information on new products	13	27	62	17	32	55

that for other newspapers 57, in that for television 53 and in that for radio 58 per cent.

In spite of this clear cumulative pattern the first three factors were included in rotation in each of the factor analyses. This decision was made on the grounds described earlier. The results of varimax rotation are presented in Table 2 for local and other newspapers and in Table 3 for television and radio.

It is easy to see from these tables that the dimensions of gratifications obtained for the different media resemble each other very clearly. In the first factors for each medium the same statements have high loadings as in the analysis above. The same holds true concerning the second factors, although the second factor for local newspaper also includes the statement "to gather information on new products". The third factors, on the other hand, differ somewhat from each other. In the third factors obtained for television and radio, the statement "to gather information on new products" gains a considerable loading. Also the statement of social utility ("to get something to talk about with others") gains a relatively high loading in them. The third factor obtained for other newspapers resembles these except that the statement of social utility loads higher in the first than in this third factor. In the third factor obtained for local newspaper the situation is slightly different, because the statement of social utility has its highest loading in it while the statement "to gather information on new products" loads higher in the second than in this third factor. Despite these small differences the third factors are, however, crucially the same for the different media. 22

These factor analyses were also performed on the basis of those respondents who had access to all the four media being rated. The factors obtained for the media were almost identical with the

factors described above. - The results of these analyses thus show that the purpose-statements form the same gratification dimensions within the different media being rated. This confirms our conception that the different media have a common basis in performing their functions.

Despite this common basis there may be differences between the media as to the capacity or instrumentality people believe they have in fulfilling their various functions. It is only natural to assume that the electronic media would be rated higher on the dimension of diversion gratifications than newspapers, because the former entail more entertainment content than the latter. On the other hand, the newspapers can have a higher score on the dimensions of utility and orientation gratifications than the electronic media.

In order to explore these suppositions we computed the mean values of ratings of each of the media on each of the purpose-statements. These means are illustrated by graphical curves in Figure 1; in numerical form they are presented in Appendix 1, Table 1. In Figure 1 the purpose-statements are arranged according to the results of previous factor analyses so that first come the statements loaded in the dimension of orientation gratifications, then those loaded in the dimension of utility gratifications and finally those loaded in the dimension of diversion gratifications.

Let us first look how the mass media in general have been rated along the different purpose-statements. It seems that the most important purposes for which all the media are used are those reflecting orientation gratifications. Of the statements loaded in the dimension of utility gratifications only the purpose of gathering information on new products was considered somewhat important; the other purposes reflecting this dimension were considered clearly

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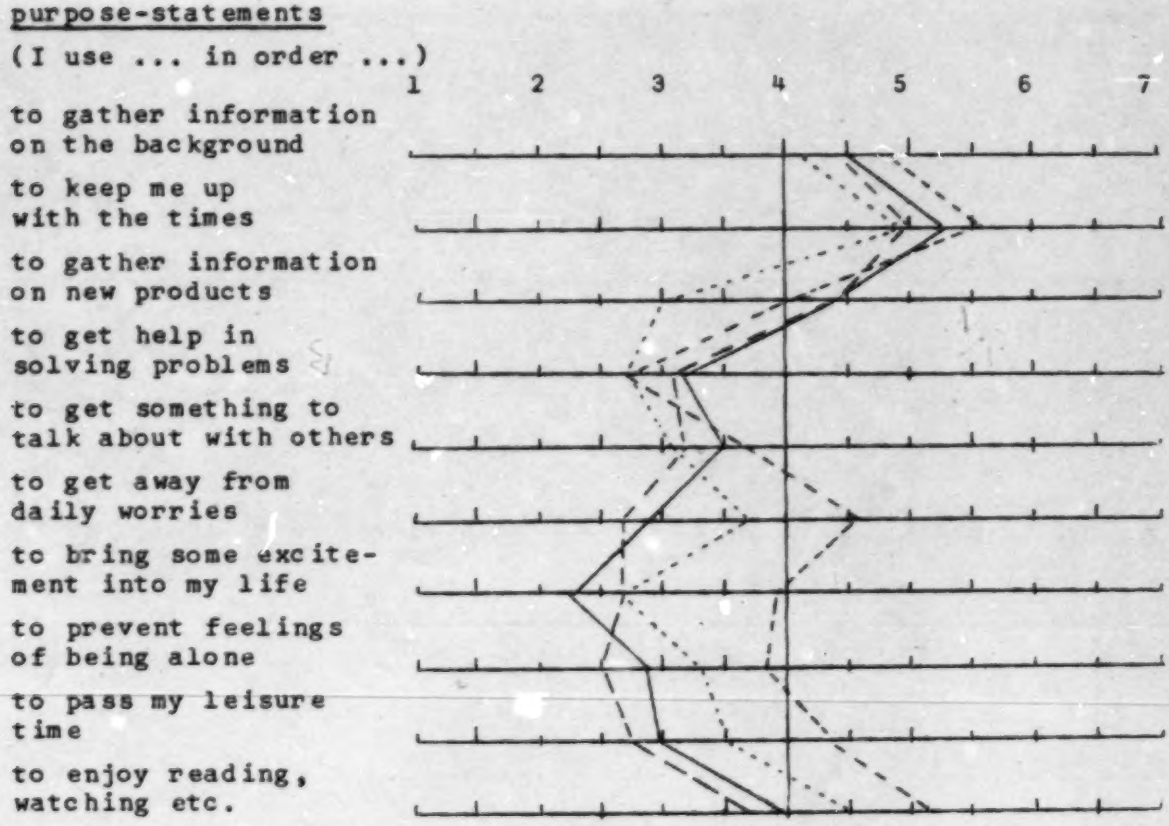
Figure 1. People's conceptions as to the instrumentality of different media in fulfilling the various purposes. Mean values of the media on the purpose-statements (——local newspaper, – –other newspapers, ----television and ·····radio; high means correspond to high ratings).


purpose-statements
(I use ... in order ...)
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
to gather information on the background
to keep me up with the times
to gather information on new products
to get help in solving problems
to get something to talk about with others
to get away from daily worries
to bring some excitement into my life
to prevent feelings of being alone
to pass my leisure time
to enjoy reading, watching etc.

less important. Finally of those statements loaded in the dimension of diversion gratifications the only one considered somewhat important is the 'play-like' (see Stephenson 1967) purpose of enjoying the sheer activity of mass media use. Other purposes reflecting this dimension are held in clearly lower esteem even if there are considerable differences between the media on these purpose-statements.

In this context it should be remembered that on the basis of these results we cannot draw any conclusions as to the goal intensity or salience of these purposes for people in general, because we did not separate this from media instrumentality. These results are, however, markedly in keeping for instance with those of Lundberg and Hultén (1968, 94-98 and 170) when they measured the goal intensity of various

purposes independent of media ratings. By this close correspondence we naturally mean that purposes pointing at orientation or information have been considered far more important than those pointing at diversion or 'escape'. This can mean either that the orientation purposes are in people's minds really more important than the diversion purposes or that the former are socially more legitimate than the latter. In the latter case social conditioning would have affected the responses.

Our results in Figure 1 may also depend on other factors than social conditioning. Perhaps they have been determined, for instance, by the fact that the common usage vis-à-vis mass media, at least in Finland, emphasizes their information function. And even if the results did give a truthful picture of how the mass media are experienced by the audience, they could be interpreted in at least two different ways. The first interpretation would be that in the context of mass media use the goal intensity of orientation purposes is higher than that of other purposes. The second would be that the media are fulfilling them better than the other purposes, although the goal intensity of the latter could be even higher than that of orientation purposes. As goal intensity and media instrumentality were not separated from each other we cannot decide between these interpretations. The decision would not however bring us very far because we do not know to what extent the responses are free from social conditioning and/or common usages.

When considering the differences between the media we observe that electronic media, especially television, have been rated higher on the statements reflecting diversion gratifications than newspapers. This confirms our supposition presented before. Our supposition concerning the media instrumentality in fulfilling the utility purposes is also supported except that on the social utility statement

television has a higher score than newspapers. On the other hand our supposition regarding the orientation purposes does not gain support, because television is rated higher than newspapers on both of the statements reflecting this dimension. The media differences are, however, relatively small with respect to them.

Again it is hard to decide whether these results truly reflect how far people use the different media in order to gratify their different purposes. The function or gratification profiles of media in Figure 1, as comprehensible as they themselves are, may only mirror the common media conception prevailing among the audience, which is not necessarily the same thing as their capacity or instrumentality in fulfilling the purposes in question. So the remarks set forth above should be taken into account also with respect to these results.

But if the results describe the reality in a truthful way, we could conclude that of all the four media being rated television gratifies best the most of the purposes proposed. Its functional role would thus be the most versatile. Of the remaining media the functional role of newspapers weights on orientation and utility gratifications while that of radio weights on diversion gratifications, although it is far behind television in this area. These results correspond more or less to those obtained in numerous uses and gratifications studies elsewhere.

2.2. Dimensions of gratifications associated with library use and with participation in adult education

Before we go on to an examination of relationships between media gratifications and content choices we will summarize some results obtained in studies of gratifications associated with some other 'mass media -like' institutions; namely with library use and with participation in adult education.

The study concerning the gratifications associated with library use has been done by Pertti Tiihonen (1972, 86-118). The data for this study were collected in 1971 by mailed questionnaires, which were returned by 121 respondents - 80 per cent of the original sample. The original sample consisted of people who had taken part in an interview survey a year before and who then had indicated that they had used the library at least once during the preceding twelve months. So there were no non-users of library in the sample.

The selection and formation of purpose-statements was to some extent guided by the results obtained in the study already described. On the basis of these results it was assumed that the gratifications associated with the use of library would form similar dimensions as those found in mass media use. On the other hand, certain assumed differences between library and mass media use had to be taken into account. It was felt for instance that such statements as "to gather information on the background of different events" or "to keep me up with the times" would not be very adequate for describing library use. They were therefore substituted by statements dealing with needs for information on new issues or for additional information on different things. Of the relatively many statements loaded in the dimension of diversion gratifications in the study described above some were dropped out while some new ones with utility content were added.

As in the previous inquiry also in this study the statements were set down in the questionnaire as "different reasons for library use" and the respondent's task was to rate with a five-point scale how adequately each of these "reasons" described his library use.

Besides this data collection also another set of data was collected from a sample of library attendants. These data were also collected by mailed questionnaires, which were returned by 255

respondents. This was 80 per cent of the original sample. The library attendants were presented with a list consisting of the same purpose-statements as the users. The task of the attendants was to rate with a five-point scale how adequately each of the purpose-statements described the library use of an ordinary client. - From now on the former set of data will be called the users' data and the latter the attendants' data.

Let us first look at the results of factor analysis of the purpose-statements in the users' data. There the cumulative pattern of ratings was not so obvious as in the ratings of mass media use. The four factors taken into account explained 52 per cent of total variance and of this common variance the first factor explained 50 per cent, the second 22, the third 20 and the fourth 8 per cent. Varimax-rotation was performed with the first three factors. Its results are presented in Table 4. This table also contains the mean values of the purpose-statements in both the users' and attendants' data. Here it must be noted that the lower the means, the higher is the goal intensity of purposes or the higher is the instrumentality of the library in fulfilling them.

There is a very clear correspondence between these factors and those obtained above for mass media in general and for each medium separately. In Table 4 the first factor contains statements which deal with information necessary for practical purposes. It differs, however, from the previous factors of utility gratifications with respect to the statement of social utility ("to get matters to talk ...") which loads only low in this factor. A little surprising is that of the two statements dealing with information for solving problems only the first ("to get help in solving problems") loads in this first factor while the other ("to get information for solving problems ...") loads higher in the third factor. Perhaps

Table 4. Dimensions of gratifications associated with library use. Varimax-rotation with three factors (N = 121; decimal points have been omitted). Mean values of the purpose-statements in the users' (mU, N = 121) and attendants' (mA, N = 255) data.

purpose-statements	factors				
(I use the library in order ...)	I	II	III	mU	mA
to get help in solving problems	58	-01	22	2.8	2.5
to relax or to pass my leisure time	-11	67	-16	2.0	1.4
to gather additional information on various things	42	-11	47	2.0	1.9
to gather information necessary in studies or in school	70	03	11	3.2	1.6
to gather information necessary in my occupation or work	70	04	-02	3.1	2.3
to find new activity possibilities in my life	32	16	49	3.5	3.3
to get away from daily worries	06	74	09	3.1	2.5
to get matters to talk about with my friends	16	45	36	3.4	3.5
to gather information on new things	13	-07	76	2.2	2.1
to widen my world-view	-17	07	76	2.2	2.3
to get information for solving problems of my own or in my environment	31	04	61	3.3	2.9

the meaning and content of this latter statement has been affected by the statements preceding it.

The second factor in Table 4 clearly resembles the factors of diversion gratifications obtained for mass media use. Both of the statements ("to relax ..." and "to get away ...") thought to reflect this dimension gain considerable loadings in it. The social utility statement has its highest loading in this factor, too. Also the factors of diversion gratifications obtained for mass media use had a similar tone, although the social utility statement had there somewhat higher loadings in the factors of utility gratifications.

The nature of the third factor in Table 4 resembles that of the factors of orientation gratifications obtained for mass media use. The content of the most crucial statements in this factor deals with

the development of world-view and with orientation toward new things. They are thus rather general in their nature. In addition to these this factor also contains statements having a more precise, practical-type content ("to find new activity possibilities ..." and "to get information for solving ..."). On the other hand, the latter statements also load in the first factor of utility gratifications. Thus the dimensions of utility and orientation gratifications seem to be to some extent similar to each other while the dimension of diversion gratifications differs more clearly from them.

In the attendants' data a similar factor analysis was also performed. The dimensions obtained in the analysis were in general quite similar to those presented in Table 4. Thus the library attendants tended to rate the gratifications obtained by their customers along the same dimensions as did the customers themselves.

There were, however, some differences between the results obtained in these groups. Firstly the cumulative tendency of ratings was more obvious among library attendants than among library users. The latter discriminated the different types of purposes from each other more clearly than did the former. In the conceptions of library attendants the dimensions of utility and orientation gratifications were much closer to each other than they were among the users. It thus seems that library attendants tend to see the gratification area as two-dimensional while library users are apt to see it as three-dimensional.

If we look at the mean values of the purpose-statements in Table 4 we observe that in the users' data library use has been rated most highly on the following statements: "to relax or to pass my leisure time", "to gather additional information on various things", "to gather information on new things" and "to widen my world-view". On the other statements it has been rated considerably lower. Of

the former four statements three loaded most highly in the factor of orientation gratifications and one in that of diversion gratifications.

The attendants' conceptions as to the importance of the purposes in the library use of an ordinary client differ in many respects from those of users themselves. Attendants believed firstly that these purposes were in general more important than they actually seem to be. Such differences are most clear regarding the statements loaded in the dimension of utility gratifications. Corresponding differences exist also with respect to statements in the dimension of diversion gratifications, even if they are not so clear as the former. Regarding the statements in the dimension of orientation gratifications attendants' conceptions are closer to the actual situation reflected in the users' ratings.

The goal intensity of the purposes asked and the instrumentality of library in fulfilling them were not separated from each other in this study either. So it is hard to say which of them is reflected in the results. But neither do we know to what extent these results have been affected by social conditioning or by other corresponding factors. If we take the results at face value, however, we might conclude that the gratification structure associated with library use is very similar to those associated with mass media use and that library also gratifies best the same kind of purposes as mass media.

We will next turn to the study of gratifications associated with participation in adult education. This study was conducted by Heikki Lehtonen and Jukka Tuomisto (1973, 166-185). The data for the study were collected by mailed questionnaires and personal interviews at the end of 1972 and at the beginning of 1973. 1440 persons participated in the study. This was 73 per cent of the original sample.

The selection and formation of purpose-statements was principally guided by theoretical considerations concerning the goals of participation in adult education. Considering first the goals that can be envisaged for it from a socio-political point of view the researchers discriminated between four fields of intellectual activity which can be served by adult education. These were in brief:

- the field of occupational skills;
- the field of abilities for participation in decision-making that takes place at different levels of society;
- the field of personality development and of abilities for enjoyment of cultural and intellectual achievements of society, and
- the field of abilities for studying.

On the basis of this division it was assumed that gratifications obtained from participation in adult education should form dimensions corresponding to these general goals. In addition to this it was further assumed that participation in adult education can also be guided by more vicarious purposes, for instance by a search for social contacts, by the prestige gained from studying or simply by the need to pass leisure time.

On the other hand, the selection and formation of purpose-statements was also guided by empirical findings in studies described above as well as in other studies dealing with reasons for participation in adult education. In phrasing of statements the assumed differences between the 'functions' of adult education on the one hand and those of the library institution or mass media on the other were taken into account. Guided by these principles the researchers formed all in all 15 purpose-statements for their study. These are presented in the following Table 5. 32

In the questionnaires and interview schedules these statements were set down as "different reasons for studying". The respondent's

Table 5. Dimensions of gratifications associated with participation in adult education. Varimax-rotation with 4 factors (N = 1440; decimal points have been omitted). Mean values of the purpose-statements (m).

purpose-statements	factors				
(I will study in order ...)	I	II	III	IV	m
to meet my friends or to become acquainted with new people	15	**45**	02	17	3.1
to develop my own personality	**66**	15	11	09	2.5
to learn useful information for my leisure time activities	19	**50**	13	04	2.9
to raise my general knowledge	**68**	08	25	02	2.2
to raise my occupational skills	41	08	**46**	00	2.2
to acquire a new job for myself	07	06	**57**	21	3.2
to gather information necessary in organizational activities	03	14	23	**57**	3.3
to get some variety for my leisure time	02	**75**	-02	05	3.1
to learn to understand other people better	**43**	35	-10	31	2.7
to relax or to get away from daily worries	04	**70**	-06	06	3.0
to make my basic education more complete	39	-12	**50**	10	2.5
to find new activity possibilities in my life	25	11	**53**	27	2.7
to widen my world-view	**59**	18	05	24	2.6
to get information for solving problems of my own or in my environment	41	10	07	**55**	2.8
to be able to influence affairs in society	11	08	19	**67**	3.2

task was to rate with a five-point scale how great an effect each of the "reasons" would have if he or she were to begin to study (respectively if he or she was already studying). On the basis of these answers the purpose-statements were correlated and factorized. This was done on the basis of all respondents; that is, those having never participated in adult education were not separated from those having at least sometimes participated in it. Perhaps this separation would have been more adequate in the analysis. 33

This factorization yielded six factors from which the first four were submitted to varimax-rotation. These four factors explained 44 per cent of total variance. Of this common variance the first factor explained 53 per cent, the second 24, the third 14 and the fourth 9 per cent. The ratings again show a cumulative pattern, although it is not so obvious as it was with respect to ratings of mass media use above. Table 5 contains results of the varimax-rotation. It also contains the mean values of the purpose-statements. Again it must be noted that the lower the means, the higher is the goal intensity of purposes or the higher is the instrumentality of adult education in fulfilling them.

The first three factors in Table 5 have quite clear counterparts among the factors obtained for library and mass media use above. On the other hand there is in the previously obtained factors no counterpart to the fourth factor in Table 5. This is not surprising, however, because the studies described above did not involve purpose-statements dealing with participation in the affairs of society. If such statements had been included in those studies, factors of a similar kind would probably have been observed.

The crucial statements in the first factor in Table 5 deal with the development of personality, enlightenment and world-view. The common content in these statements is the raising of general knowledge. This again forms the basis for orientation in life. This first factor thus resembles the dimension of orientation gratifications obtained in the studies described above. 34

The correspondence between this factor and those orientation factors found for mass media use is not exact, because the statements used in these studies are not the same. But the general tone and character correspond to each other. The affinity between this factor and the orientation factor obtained for library use is more

exact, although there are some slight differences between them. The statements "to find new activity possibilities ..." and "to get information for solving problems ...", which in the study of library gratifications had their highest loadings in the orientation factor, have in this study their highest loadings in other factors.

The second factor in Table 5 corresponds clearly to the factors of diversion gratifications obtained in the studies above. The correspondence between it and that for library use is especially clear, because in both studies the statements of social utility load in these diversion factors.

The statements loaded in the third factor in Table 5 deal mainly with practical-type information, although the statement "to find new activity possibilities ..." has a more general nature. However, the correspondence between this factor and the factor of utility gratifications obtained for library use is quite clear. Although the utility statements in the study of mass media gratifications and in this study were not the same, the utility factors obtained for mass media use have at least to some extent a similar tone and character to the third factor in Table 5.

It is easy to see from Table 5 that the factors of orientation and utility gratifications are to some extent similar, having a number of common elements while the factor of diversion gratifications differs more clearly from them. As will be recalled, the situation was similar also in the study of library gratifications.

The purposes rated highest with respect to participation in adult education loaded either in the factor of orientation gratifications ("to raise my general knowledge", "to develop my own personality", "to widen my world-view" and "to learn to understand ...") or in the factor of utility gratifications ("to raise my occupational skills", "to make my basic education ..." and "to find new activity

possibilities ..."). Because in this study the goal intensity of purposes and the instrumentality of adult education in fulfilling them were again not separated from each other it is hard to say which of them is reflected in these results.

It is worth noting, however, that the utility purposes were rated rather important with respect to adult education, while they were held rather unimportant with respect to library and mass media use. Perhaps this result reflects that particularly the rather many respondents who have participated in some occupational training give the utility purposes a high rating. If this holds true, then there would be at least some correspondence between actual behaviour and gratifications obtained from it. But the result can as well indicate that utility function may be more out in the common conception of adult education than is the case with libraries or mass media.

Unfortunately the researchers in this study do not present results dealing with this question. In another study (Lehtonen and Tuomisto 1973b, 24-29) they have, however, some results according to which the former explanation seems more plausible.

2.3. Conclusions

In the previous pages we have examined what kind of dimensions or factors the various purposes concerning the use of mass media and other 'mass media -like' institutions form in the minds of individuals and how they have rated them with respect to these purposes. The first result worth noting is that the ratings had a rather cumulative pattern. That is, if one purpose was considered as an important "reason" for the use so also were the other purposes and vice versa. Perhaps this result arises out of the general appreciation of the medium or institution being rated.

The most interesting result is that behind this cumulative pattern there were some dimensions differing more or less from each other. And what is more, the dimensions obtained for the use of different mass media and other institutions being studied were basically the same, except the fourth factor obtained for participation in adult education. Of these three dimensions the first was composed of purposes concerned with information necessary for orientation in life, the second of purposes of diversion or 'escape' and the third of purposes having a practical or utility content.

Now what do these results mean? Is it that these three dimensions reflect the basic 'subjective' functions associated with the use of mass media, library and adult education institutions? Because these dimensions have been observed with regard to rather different institutions, from a local newspaper to adult education institutions, we can perhaps say that there is a general tendency to rate such institutions along these dimensions. But there are reasons to suspect that these three are not the only ones; that is, there may be more dimensions. At least the fourth factor found for participation in adult education points in this direction.

Another question entirely is what kind of phenomena have caused the emergence of these dimensions. It may be, as we pointed out previously, that people have experienced and learned what kind of material offered by the different institutions is able to satisfy what kind of needs. Perhaps the emergence of these dimensions is based on such experiences and through them on the needs of people. If this is the case we could say that the different institutions have a common basis in performing their functions. In other words, the different institutions could be regarded as functional alternatives to each other.

This explanation does not, however, sound very plausible, because it is not sure that such learning takes place solely on the grounds of personal experiences. If the formation of images as to the functional roles of mass media and other institutions is affected by common cultural conceptions and usages regarding their nature and functions, we could not argue that the emergence of the dimensions reveals the basic need-structure behind their use. In this case, as we emphasized previously, the results would perhaps only mean that people are reacting in a logically consistent way, on the basis of the kind of verbal usage vis-à-vis these institutions they have learned, to the verbal stimuli in purpose-statements.

The results may also reflect subcultural differences as to which purposes are appreciated and which are not. If for instance purposes involving orientation are in some subculture held in higher esteem than in some other while purposes to do with diversion are more tolerated in the latter than in the former, then these subculturally determined differences could explain the emergence of these dimensions.

It was further observed that the purposes which were rated highest with respect to the use of mass media and other institutions being studied, were in general those loaded in the factors of orientation gratifications. Purposes loaded in the dimensions of diversion or utility gratifications were in general considered more unimportant as reasons for the use. The only exception was found in the reasons for participation in adult education, where purposes entailing practical utility were considered rather important, too. 38

The purpose-statements loaded in the dimensions of orientation gratifications were rather general, unarticulated and 'cliché-type'

by nature. If we in addition to this take into account that the attempt to form a coherent picture of the world and life is highly appreciated in our culture, we have very good reasons to suspect that the valuation of orientation purposes is socially conditioned. Perhaps the purposes entailing diversion are also underestimated on the basis of this social conditioning. On the other hand, purposes of practical utility may be more free from cultural pressures, but their importance may depend more on various situational factors.

If we take the results at their face value we must conclude either that purposes pointing at orientation really have a higher goal intensity for people than other purposes or that mass media and other institutions are really more instrumental with respect to the former than the latter purposes. We cannot decide, however, which of these interpretations is the more plausible because goal intensity and instrumentality of the institutions were not separated from each other. However, on the basis of results that Lundberg and Hultén (1968, 101-107) obtained using a sentence-completion test it seems that the latter interpretation would be more adequate.

As can be observed from the previous reasoning, the most crucial question here is whether these results reveal in a truthful way the extent the institutions studied gratify the different purposes or whether they only reflect culturally determined conceptions regarding these purposes and the institutions in question. And there is no simple way of solving this question. Here we have only some indirect ways of testing the plausibility of these alternatives.

If we observe that people who have indicated that they use for instance television for purposes of diversion tend to watch more 39
entertainment programmes than other people, then there is at least some correspondence between the reported actual choice behaviour

and reported gratifications obtained from it. Such results would not, however, decide the whole problem in our research. Because the content choices were not actually observed but only asked, cultural pressures may have effects which produce such correspondences.

The way of thinking suggested here can be questioned from various points of view. For instance how can we decide what gratifications should be related to what content in order to be able to decide between the mentioned alternatives. It sounds natural to expect that for instance purposes of diversion should be related to the use of entertainment content or purposes of orientation to the use of information content. But if such relationships are not found, does this indicate that the results presented in the previous pages are not 'real' but determined by social conditioning, common usages etc.? Of course not necessarily.

It should first be noted that the functional role of a medium in the mind of an individual may be determined on the basis of the most important content it offers for him. This content, however, is not necessarily the same as what he consumes most from that medium. It has also been stressed "that almost any type of content may serve practically any type of function" (Rosengren and Windahl 1972, 166; cf. also Katz and Foulkes 1962 or Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch 1973, 33). But if we accept that for instance a pure entertainment programme or in general programmes falling in this category gratify equally well purposes of orientation and utility as those of diversion, then the whole approach of uses and gratifications studies seems not very productive.

3. DIMENSIONS OF GRATIFICATIONS AND CONTENT CHOICES

When presenting the background of this report we did not pay very much attention to the various theoretical frameworks concerning the relationships between the need-basis of individuals and their mass media behaviour. One of the best known of such frameworks is that of Schramm (1949) concerning news reading. This framework has formed the point of departure in one of my previous studies (see Pietilä 1969a). Here we may outline its chief points in a few words.

Schramm's basic assumption is that news reading - as well as the use of mass media in general - must be in some way or other rewarding. In line with Freud's concepts of the pleasure principle and reality principle Schramm argues that certain news items offer the reward immediately (pleasure principle, the reading offers immediate pleasure) while others offer it delayedly (reality principle, the reward is gained sometime later). Schramm argues (1949, 260-261) that "news of crime and corruption, accidents and disasters, sports and recreation, social events and human interest" furnish immediate reward while "delayed reward may be expected from news of public economic matters, social problems, science, education and health".

Later Schramm postulated two types of receivers, the reality-oriented and the fantasy-oriented, with content choices consistent with their orientation type (Schramm, Lyle and Parker 1961, 57-74). At the same time categories of materials offering immediate vs. 41
delayed reward have been extended to other media. For instance in electronic media "westerns, crime drama, popular music and variety shows" are examples of content offering immediate reward while

"news, documentaries, interviews, public affairs programs and educational television" belong to material offering the reward delayedly (Schramm, Lyle and Parker 1961, 64).

Let us now see how these Schramm's categories and receiver types fit our results concerning the dimensions of gratifications or function-images. Semantically considered those people using the media for purposes of diversion would apparently fall in the Schrammian category of fantasy-oriented receivers while those using them for purposes of orientation would appatently fall in that of reality-oriented receivers. But how to place those who use them for purposes of practical utility? With respect to such content that can have practical utility for people we can argue that it is not fantasy-type in its nature, but that it can gratify immediately those purposes for which it is sought. Thus the 'practically-oriented' people could be placed neither in the first nor in the second category of receivers.

Of course it is questionable what the immediate reward means in reality. But the whole problem becomes even more complicated if we take into account that there may be more basic 'subjective' functions of media than those described in the provious pages. It seems, thus, that the Schrammian framework, at least in its original form, does not afford a very adequate basis for the explanation of people's media behaviour. There are, however, some possibilities for refining it, but we will not dwell upon them here.

The Schrammian framework has been taken up here because it in a way quided the formation of questions concerning people's content choices in our 1967 questionnaire. Further, despite its shortcomings, it forms one theoretical construction on the basis of which we can derive hypotheses concerning relationships between content choices from a medium and gratifications associated with its use.

These hypotheses are very simple and self-evident on the basis of previous reasoning.

The first hypothesis is that the more a given medium is used for purposes of orientation, the more information content is consumed from it. The second hypothesis is naturally that the more a given medium is used for purposes of diversion, the more entertainment content is consumed from it. Although the Schrammian framework does not give a clear basis for hypotheses concerning the relationships between utility gratifications and content choices, we make here the most natural assumption that the more a given medium is used for purposes of utility, the more content having practical value is consumed from it. Such content is in 'objective' terms composed of advertisements, announcements, advisory programmes etc.

The inquiry into relationships between gratification or function-image dimensions and content choices will be restricted here to local newspaper, television and radio. They will be examined separately with respect to newspaper on the one hand and with respect to electronic media on the other. The data for the study are naturally the same as those on the basis of which the gratification dimensions were examined.

3.1. Relationships between gratification dimensions and content choices with respect to newspaper

The problem concerning the relationships between newspaper gratifications and content choices has to some extent been dealt with in my previous study already mentioned (Pietilä 1969a; this study was based on the same data as our study here). The problem in this previous study was whether we can find empirical evidence as to what kind of newspaper content is delayedly and what kind immedi-

ately rewarding or, put in other terms, what kind of content is instrumental and what kind expressive. This problem was tackled using three different procedures.

We first had several expert judges - investigators working on sociological or mass communication studies - arrange 20 newspaper content categories (see Table 6) in order with respect to the concepts of instrumentality vs. expressivity or delayed vs. immediate reward. When these rankings were compared it was found that the judges were quite unanimous as to what kind of content is instrumental and what expressive in its nature. So it was concluded that the Schrammian concepts do have relevance with respect to newspaper content.

After that we examined the relationships between gratifications associated with the use of the newspaper being studied and the reading of material from it falling in these 20 content categories. For this examination we formed two gratification scales, one on the basis of purpose-statements loaded in the factor of orientation gratifications (called the scale of informative asons) and other on the basis of purpose-statements loaded in the factor of diversion gratifications (called the scale of vicarious reasons). It was observed that the scale of informative reasons correlated more strongly with the reading of material considered as instrumental by the judges than with the reading of material considered as expressive. On the other hand the scale of vicarious reasons did not correlate more strongly with reading of expressive than with reading of instrumental material.

In the third procedure we utilized Himmelstrand's hypothesis that instrumental activities tend to have a cumulative structure while expressive activities will have a differential one (see 44 Himmelstrand 1960, 263-269). It was also found that the correlation

between the reading of materials held as most instrumental by the judges were clearly higher than those between the reading of materials held as most expressive. All these 'tests' thus confirmed the conception that the concepts of delayed and immediate reward also have empirical relevance.

The most important result regarding our problem here is that the relationships between gratifications and content choices lay at least to some extent in the assumed direction. Now these relationships will be examined more closely. In doing this we will proceed as follows. We will first examine whether the content categories, the reading of which was asked from the respondents, will on the basis of their answers form some clusters or dimensions which could be interpreted in terms of orientation, diversion and practical utility. If such dimensions are found, we will secondly examine the relations of gratification dimensions to them.

The respondents had to rate with a seven-point scale, with respect to each of the 20 content categories, how much or little they read that kind of material from the local paper being studied. On the basis of these ratings the correlations between the content categories were computed. A factor analysis of this correlation matrix yielded six factors, which were all submitted to varimax-rotation. These six factors explained 46 per cent of total variance. Of this common variance the first factor explained 49 per cent, the second 17, the third 12, the fourth 10, the fifth 7 and the sixth 5 per cent. The reading of the different contents seems thus to have a rather cumulative pattern. The results of the varimax-rotation are presented in Table 6, which also contains the mean values of content categories. The higher the mean of a category, the more material belonging to that category is read.

Table 6. Dimensions of content categories of local newspaper. Varimax-rotation with 6 factors. Mean values of categories (m, N = 303).

	factors						
content categories	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	m
editorials and political feuilletons	27	07	64	06	-06	27	3.7
other articles on editorial page	34	05	67	10	02	14	3.5
foreign news	16	-05	58	11	46	01	3.9
national news	01	14	58	20	48	18	5.0
regional events	12	25	21	25	18	43	5.5
local events	-01	28	10	34	22	41	6.1
news of crime and accident	-07	15	23	24	47	21	5.0
sport news	26	-05	01	-05	40	22	4.4
organizational affairs	65	06	02	12	03	20	3.4
agricultural matters	08	07	16	-08	00	46	3.5
military affairs	58	-07	18	07	13	18	3.5
culture and the arts	58	21	25	01	-11	-14	2.6
column for adolescents	50	23	17	-02	19	02	2.8
comic strips	07	08	01	05	38	-06	3.5
advertisements	13	14	06	73	13	-06	4.2
other announcements	10	20	16	70	04	06	4.5
congregational affairs	09	80	06	14	04	13	4.9
shipping affairs	38	00	14	23	20	-26	3.2
interpretive writings	43	-02	39	16	13	01	3.6
death announcements, birthdays etc.	11	73	00	24	14	12	5.1

The first factor in Table 6 is composed of those categories which with few exceptions have the lowest mean values. In general the respondents do not read them very much. Thus the emergence of this factor may not be interpreted in terms of common interest but in terms of common non-interest in reading this kind of material. There is, however, some conceptual correspondence between these categories, because the most of them deal with special matters. So this is called the factor of special matters. These categories were not considered very instrumental by the judges.

The second factor is composed of categories dealing with religious interests. Hence it is called the factor of religious interests. These categories were in general among the most expressive in rankings of the judges. In the third factor the most highly loaded categories are editorials, political feuilletons and other material on the editorial page. Besides these categories those of foreign and national news and interpretive writings also have quite high loadings in it. It thus represents the reading of 'heavy' material. These five categories were considered most instrumental by the judges.

The fourth factor is composed of advertisement categories and it is therefore called the factor of advertisements. Of these the category of advertisements proper was held rather instrumental by the judges while that of other announcements was not. The fifth factor is the most problematic of all these factors. On the one hand it is composed of categories which in Schrammian terms belong to immediate reward content (news of crime and accident, sports news and comic strips), but the general categories of foreign and national news also gain relatively high loadings in it.

Perhaps the loading of the latter categories in this factor is caused by those respondents who read foreign and national news of crime, accident and sports, while their loading in the third factor is caused by those respondents who read foreign and national news having a more serious content. This interpretation seems quite plausible, because foreign and national news are not subject matter but formal categories. Thus this fifth factor can be called the factor of 'light' matters. News of crime and accident, sports news and comic strips were among those categories considered most expressive by the judges.

The sixth factor is composed of categories of regional and local events. Also the reading of agricultural matters gains a relatively high loading in it. This factor represents interest in local events and it is therefore called the factor of local events. These three categories were regarded by the judges as more instrumental than expressive.

Now to what extent could these six content factors be described in terms of orientation, diversion and practical utility? If we use the Schrammian framework as the decisive criterion, then the factor of 'heavy' matters would correspond most closely to the concept of orientation and the factor of 'light' matters to that of diversion. The factor of advertisements would correspond most closely to the concept of practical utility. Also the content of special matters and religious interests may have some value with regard to practical utility, at least for those people who for instance participate in organizational or congregational activities. The content dealing with local events may have importance with regard both to orientation and to practical utility.

On the basis of this conceptual analysis we can assume that the dimension of orientation gratifications should correlate most highly with reading of those content categories loaded in the factor of 'heavy' matters. The dimension of diversion gratifications should correlate most highly with reading of those content categories loaded in the factor of 'light' matters while that of utility gratifications should correlate most highly with reading of advertisement categories. 48

In order to explore these assumptions we formed three sum-scales measuring the three dimensions of gratifications associated with the use of local newspaper. The scale of orientation gratifications was composed of the statements "to gather information on the back-

ground of different events" and "to keep me up with the times"; the scale of diversion gratifications was composed of the statements "to bring some excitement into my life" and "to prevent feelings of being alone" and the scale of utility gratifications of statements "to get help in solving problems" and "to gather information on new products". This last decision is perhaps slightly questionable, because the latter statement loaded slightly higher in the orientation than in the utility factor.

Similar scales were also formed with respect to the content categories. Six of them were formed directly on the basis of the factors presented in Table 6. The seventh was composed of foreign and national news, because these loaded quite highly in two different factors. The items of these content scales were the following:

- The scale of special matters was composed of organizational and military affairs.
- The scale of religious interests was composed of congregational affairs and death announcements, birthdays etc.
- The scale of 'heavy' matters was composed of editorials and political feuilletons and other articles on editorial page.
- The scale of advertisements was composed of advertisements and other announcements.
- The scale of 'light' matters was composed of news of crime and accident and sports news.
- The scale on local events was composed of regional and local events.
- The scale of general news was composed of foreign and national news.

After the formation of these scales the correlations between the gratification and content scales were computed. They are presented in Table 7. The correlations between the gratification scales and content cetegories taken individually are presented in Appendix 1, Table 2. - All of the correlations in Table 7 are positive and almost all of them are statistically significant at least at the

Table 7. Correlations between gratification and content scales with regard to local newspapet (N = 303).

content scales	gratification scales: orienta-tion	utility	diver-sion
the scale of 'heavy' matters	.40	.27	.21
the scale of general news	.42	.34	.18
the scale of local events	.20	.16	.09
the scale of advertisements	.23	.20	.06
the scale of special matters	.26	.24	.21
the scale of religious interests	.27	.18	.16
the scale of 'light' matters	.23	.20	.23

level of 5 per cent. There is then a clear relationship between the appreciation of the paper in terms of various purposes and the content consumption from it.

Let us then consider the correlations of the gratification scales to the content scales of 'heavy' matters, general news and local events, which were thought best suited for gratifying the orientation purposes. The scale of orientation gratifications correlates clearly more strongly with the reading of 'heavy' matters and general news than those of utility and diversion gratifications, thus supporting our assumption. On the other hand, the correlations of orientation and utility scales do not differ from each other very much with respect to the scale of local events. It was also assumed that content dealing with local events may gratify both orientation and utility purposes.

With regard to utility gratifications we expected that especially advertising content but also special matters and religious interests would be best suited for gratifying utility purposes. The results show, however, that the scale of orientation gratifications correlates somewhat higher with reading of these materials that that of utility gratifications. This does not support our assumption, although the differences between these correlations are rather small.

With respect to the reading of 'light' matters thought to be best suited for gratifying the diversion purposes we observe that the gratification scales have almost identical correlations with the content scale of 'light' matters. Again our assumption is not supported, although it should be noted that the scale of diversion gratifications has its highest correlation precisely with reading of this material.

In general the results in Table 7 do not give much support to the conception that the type of content consumed from the newspaper corresponds to the type of gratifications associated with its use. The only result pointing clearly in this direction is the rather high dependence between orientation gratifications ascribed to the paper and reading of 'heavy' and general news matters from it.

3.2. Relationships between gratification dimensions and content choices with respect to electronic media

In order to measure the content consumption from electronic media we selected the following procedure. The respondents were presented with a list consisting of different serial programmes presented at that time in television and radio. They had to rate with a seven-point scale how regularly they had exposed themselves to these programmes[1]. This procedure was thus somewhat different from that used with respect to the local newspaper.

The programmes were selected to represent different programme categories or types: namely the category of news and current affairs, that of general information and that of entertainment. For radio an advisory programme was also included. As in the previous section we will here too first explore whether these programmes form empir-

[1] Regarding the newscasts they had to indicate, however, to how many of these they exposed themselves daily (at that time there were three daily newscasts on television and fifteen on the radio).

Table 8. Dimensions of programmes with respect to television. Varimax-rotation with 3 factors. Mean values of programmes (m, N = 244).

programmes	factors I	II	III	m
newscasts	11	40	16	1.4
Wednesday (type: current affairs)	31	32	08	3.8
Adventures of the Tammela Family (a Finnish serial film, type: entertainment)	01	38	-03	5.6
The Untouchables (a serial film, type: entertainment)	26	-06	54	4.1
Mosaic (type: general information)	69	11	16	1.8
At the Watershed (type: general information)	66	08	26	2.0
The Danny Kaye -Show (type: entertainment)	11	19	54	3.5

ical clusters which could be interpreted in terms of these categories or in terms of orientation, diversion and practical utility.

The factor analysis of television programmes yielded three factors, which were all submitted to varimax-rotation. These three factors explained 33 per cent of total variance. Of this common variance the first factor explained 69 per cent, the second 16 and the third 15 per cent. So the exposure to television programmes seems to have a rather cumulative pattern. The results of varimax-rotation are presented in Table 8. This table also contains the mean values of programmes. The higher is the mean of a programme, the more regularly it has been watched.

The factors are quite self-evident. The first of them is composed of the two programmes containing general information. In general these programmes have been watched very little, which perhaps accounts for the emergence of this factor. The second factor is composed of news and current affairs programme, besides which also the Finnish serial film gains a considerable loading. The third factor is composed of entertainment programmes of foreign origin. The programmes in the second and third factor have been

Table 9. Dimensions of programmes with respect to radio. Varimax-rotation with 3 factors. Mean values of programmes (m, N = 296).

programmes	factors I	II	III	m
Newscasts	18	14	53	2.8
The Mirror of the Day (type: current affairs)	30	01	53	3.2
Eight at the Top (a light music programme, type: entertainment)	00	71	02	2.7
Double or Quits (a quiz programme, type: entertainment)	48	28	32	4.1
A Day in World Politics (type: general information of current affairs)	76	-01	21	2.7
Arena Debate (a discussion programme, type: general information of current affairs)	72	05	31	2.7
A Present in Melodies (a light music programme, type: entertainment)	13	62	43	4.2
Letter-Box for Social Problems (an advisory programme, type: general information)	33	25	54	3.2

watched far more regularly than those in the first factor (note that the mean of news means how many of the three daily transmissions the respondents have on the average watched).

The factor analysis of radio programmes also yielded three factors which were all submitted to varimax-rotation. They explained 49 per cent of total variance. Of this common variance the first factor explained 69 per cent, the second 23 and the third 8 per cent. Thus the exposure to radio programmes, too, has a rather cumulative pattern. The results of varimax-rotation are presented in Table 9, which also contains the mean values of programmes. High means correspond to high exposure and vice versa.

Also these factors are quite self-evident. The first of them is composed mainly of those programmes containing general information of current affairs, although the quiz programme has also its highest loading in this factor. Despite this there is a clear correspondence between this and the first factor of television programmes. The second factor is composed of the two music programmes, having thus

an entertaining character. The most crucial programmes in the third factor are news and current affairs. Besides these two also the advisory programme gains its highest loading in this factor. Despite this the general nature of this factor corresponds to that of the news and current affairs factor of television programmes.

These three factors, which are basically the same for television and radio programmes, are easily interpreted in terms of the programme types or categories presented above. So the existence of such types has gained empirical support. It is rather surprising that the factors are in such close agreement with these programme types. It has namely been observed in some previous studies, based on data collected in diaries people have kept of programmes they have watched or listened to, that the programmes form factors not on the basis of their content types but on the basis of their transmission times (see for instance Nurminen 1969; cf. also Nordenstreng 1969a, 257).

On the other hand, a factor analysis based on familiarity ratings of several serial television programmes yielded factors which were determined on the basis of programme types (Nurminen 1969, 13-16). Familiarity with a programme meant that the respondent had seen it at least once, but in many cases evidently more than once. In a way the measurement of familiarity resembles our measurement of programme consumption. The factors obtained were the following: a factor of 'popular programmes' consisting chiefly of Finnish entertainment programmes; a factor of foreign serials, mostly thrillers; a factor of children's programmes and a factor of factual programmes consisting mostly of current events.

These factors do not agree very closely with ours. Only the basic differentation into entertainment and factual or informative is the same. It may be that the emergence of additional dimensions besides these two in studies is more apparent than real, depending on what kind of programmes have been included in them.

Another question is whether the factors obtained here can be interpreted in terms of orientation, diversion and practical utility. The most problematic thing here is that our study, with one exception, did not contain programmes having 'objective' importance with respect to practical utility. Therefore none of the factors obtained can be interpreted in terms of it. On the other hand, the factors composed of entertainment programmes correspond semantically to the concept of diversion, while the two factors composed of general information programmes and news and current affairs programmes correspond to the concept of orientation.

On the basis of this we assume that the dimension of orientation gratifications correlates most strongly with consumption of programmes loaded in factors of general information and news and current affairs. We assume further that the dimension of diversion gratifications correlates most strongly with consumption of programmes loaded in factors of entertainment while the dimension of utility gratifications correlates poorly with consumption of all programmes except the advisory programme on the radio.

In order to explore these assumptions we formed both for television and for radio the same three gratification scales drawn up previously for the local newspaper. The purpose-statements on which these scales were based were exactly the same. Also programme scales corresponding to the content scales of the local newspaper were formed on the basis of factors in Tables 8 and 9. These scales and their items for television and radio were the following:

- The scale of news and current affairs was composed for television of newscasts and "Wednesday", and for radio of newscasts and "The Mirror of the Day".

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- The scale of general information was composed for television of "Mosaic" and "At the Watershed", and for radio of "A Day in World Politics" and "Arena Debate".

- The scale of entertainment was composed for television of "The Untouchables" and "The Danny Kaye -Show", and for radio of "Eight at the Top" and "A Present in Melodies".

In addition to these scales the only advisory programme, "Letter-Box for Social Problems", was taken individually. After the formation of these scales the correlations between gratification and programme scales were computed. They are presented in Table 10. The correlations between gratification scales and programmes taken individually are presented in Appendix 1, Table 3. - The correlations in Table 10 are again mostly positive, indicating that there is a relationship between the appreciation of television and radio in terms of various purposes and content consumption from them. This holds true especially clearly with respect to radio.

Let us then consider the relationships between gratification and programme scales more closely. We first observe that the scale of orientation gratifications correlates more markedly with the scale of news and current affairs programmes than the other gratification scales. This is in accordance with our assumption. It should be noted, however, that with regard to radio the scales of utility and diversion gratifications also have statistically significant positive correlations with it.

Regarding the scale of general information programmes we see that the scale of utility gratifications has almost equally strong correlations with it as that of orientation gratifications. With respect to radio the former correlation is even stronger than the latter. If we in addition to this take into account that the scale of diversion gratifications also correlated positively with consumption of general information programmes, we must admit that this result does not give much support to our assumption. 56

With respect to the scale of entertainment programmes the results are clearly contrary to our assumption. The scales of orientation

Table 10. Correlations between gratification and programme scales with respect to electronic media (N = 244 for television and 296 for radio).

	gratification scales		
television programme scales	orientation	utility	diversion
scale of news and current affairs	.22	-.04	-.06
scale of general information	.24	.21	.12
scale of entertainment	.23	.11	.08
radio programme scales			
scale of news and current affairs	.42	.34	.24
scale of general information	.32	.37	.24
scale of entertainment	.28	.32	.22
advisory programme	.34	.35	.22

and utility gratifications correlate better with it than that of diversion gratifications. Regarding the advisory programme we see that the scales of orientation and utility gratifications correlate equally well with it. Thus not even this result confirms our assumption very much.

Thus our conception that the types of programmes consumed from electronic media would be found to correspond to the types of gratifications associated with their use gains more support only with regard to consumption of news and current affairs programmes. This result is rather similar to that obtained for the local newspaper in Table 7. The most surprising result in Table 10 is that the consumption of entertainment content from electronic media is related more closely to their use for 'serious' purposes of orientation and utility than to their use for 'light' purposes of diversion.

3.3. Conclusions

In this section we have examined whether the use of a given medium for given purposes is related to consumption of such content

which in 'objective' terms would be best suited for gratifying the purposes in question. Our point of departure was that if such relationships could be established empirically there would be at least some correspondence between types of content actually consumed and types of gratifications ascribed to the use of media.

Regarding content consumption from local newspaper and electronic media it was found that the different content items formed clusters or factors which could in broad lines be interpreted in terms of orientation, diversion and practical utility. The last concept was, however, almost unserviceable with respect to the content clusters of electronic media, because with one exception we did not ask the consumption of programmes having in 'objective' terms some value for utility purposes.

Factors composed of 'heavy' matters and general and local news in the case of local newspaper and of news, current affairs and general information in the case of electronic media were interpreted to represent that content best suited to gratify purposes of orientation. Factors composed of 'light' matters in the case of local newspaper and of entertainment programmes in the case of electronic media were interpreted to represent that content best suited to gratify purposes of diversion. Finally, with respect to the local newspaper, factors consisting of advertisements, special matters and religious interests were interpreted to represent that content best suited for purposes of utility.

On the basis of these content clusters we formed several content scales in order to be able to analyze the relationships subjected to study. It should be noted that the formation of content scales was not arbitrary, because they were based on the content clusters obtained. On the other hand the interpretation of these clusters was as usual subjective, because it was based on subjective conceptions as to the 'common denominator' with regard to each cluster.

The most crucial result was that our assumptions gained more support only with respect to consumption of 'heavy' matters and general news and of news and current affairs programmes in the case of local newspaper and of electronic media, respectively. In other words, the more the media were used for purposes of orientation, the more that kind of content was consumed from them. Other gratification scales were to a far lesser extent related to consumption of that kind of content.

On the other hand, with respect to consumption of other types of content similar results were not obtained. For instance in the case of 'light' matters and entertainment programmes we found that their consumption was related equally or even more markedly to the use of media for purposes of orientation and utility than to their use for purposes of diversion. Likewise the consumption of content of advertisements, special matters and religious interests was related more to the use of the local newspaper for orientation than for utility purposes.

Augedal (1973, 5-8) presents some results which elucidate this same problem. He found that people who used electronic media more for information than for other reasons did not prefer or consume more information programmes than those people using them more for other than information reasons. As a matter of fact the tendency was slightly in the opposite direction. With respect to newspapers he found, however, that people using them for information reasons actually exposed themselves more often to information content than people using them for other reasons. 59

On the other hand he found that people using for instance radio more for other than information reasons preferred somewhat more entertainment programmes than those using it more for information than other reasons. Unfortunately his report does not contain re-

sults concerning the consumption of entertainment content from other media. These pieces of information show, however, that there is a conflict between Augedal's results and ours. The only consistent finding is that the use of newspaper for information or orientation purposes is related to consumption of that kind of content.

There are, however, some differences in measuring procedures which might account for the differences between results. But if this is not the case the differences are very hard to explain. Perhaps they would reveal, then, that this kind of approach does not produce valid results in uses and gratifications studies.

Our chief objective in this section was to gather evidence for evaluation whether or not the responses to purpose-statements reveal in a truthful way the extent to which the use of mass media gratifies different purposes. Let us now consider the results from this point of view. We will do this separately with respect to each of the gratification dimensions, beginning with that of diversion gratifications.

Regarding this dimension we found that although it was related to consumption of 'light' entertainment content, other dimensions had equal or even stronger correlations with consumption of such content. This may indicate that responses to statements of diversion purposes are invalid; that is, that they are determined not by real gratifications obtained from media but by cultural pressures, common usages etc. 60

A slightly different interpretation would be that, as the results of Lundberg and Hultén (1968, 101-107) show, gratifications for purposes of diversion are sought not only from the mass media but also more extensively from other sources. Therefore it may be that diversion statements are to some extent or to some people inadequate with respect to the mass media. In other words, people in general

or some of them may not be able to rate accurately their mass media use in terms of diversion purposes. Therefore they may for instance have relied on general conceptions prevailing in culture.

In these cases the purpose-statements would be invalid or at least unreliable. But there are reasons on the basis of which we can at least understand if not explain why the result did not agree with our assumption, although as such it may be both reliable and valid. For instance regarding the use of electronic media it has been found that content selection from them is largely time-bound. It depends mostly on whether one has time for it, and to a far lesser extent on the types of programmes which are on the air at that time (cf. Nurminen 1969). Thus the purposes of use asked here may not necessarily affect content consumption, although they may in a truthful way reflect the gratifications mostly obtained from it.

There are at least two objections to this interpretation. Firstly we measured content consumption in a rather general way, in order to eliminate the effects of the time-bound nature of use on the results. And it succeeded, because otherwise it would be hard to understand why the factor analysis of programmes yielded factors which could be interpreted in terms of programme types. The second objection is that the result was similar with respect to the newspaper as with respect to electronic media, although the use of newspapers is not similarly time-bound. 61

Regarding the electronic media another interpretation would be that they transmit more entertainment than information programmes or at least more serial programmes of the former than of the latter kind. So it is rather easy to come into contact with entertainment programmes while the selection of information programmes perhaps requires more interest in such content. This point of view could

also interpret why our assumption gained support regarding the relationship between orientation gratifications and information programmes but not regarding the other relationships.

Also this interpretation can be objected to. That is to say, why in the case of the newspaper, which contains far more information than entertainment content, was the result nevertheless similar to the case of electronic media. Thus also this interpretation sounds rather inplausible.

When drawing previous conclusions we presented two additional possible interpretations. One of them was that function-images may have been determined by the most important content, which is, however, not necessarily the same as the most consumed content. The other was that a given type of content may gratify not only a given type but practically any type of purpose, which would then account for the fact that not only diversion but also other gratifications are related to consumption of entertainment content.

On the basis of our results we cannot object to these interpretations. So all we can say thus far is either that the purpose-statements reflecting diversion gratifications are invalid and/or unreliable with regard to real gratifications obtained from media, or that they are reliable and valid and that the result considered here is caused by elements in one or the other of the two last interpretations.

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Regarding the dimension of utility gratifications we found that besides it the dimension of orientation gratifications correlated equally well or better with consumption of content thought to be best suited for gratifying purposes of practical utility. Because this result is only to some degree consistent with our assumption, it again requires some interpretation. Here we cannot utilize all viewpoints presented above, because statements reflecting utility

purposes are apparently tied to cultural prejudices to a lesser extent than those reflecting the other kinds of purpose.

It may be that the nature of utility gratifications differs from that of the other gratifications. That is to say, if we start with the assumption that there are needs behind gratifications, we can distinguish between two types of needs; psychological needs and needs which are caused by circumstantial determinants. The former could be characterized as permanent and short-circuit while the latter are more situational. On the basis of this division purposes of utility would fall in the latter category while those of orientation and diversion would be closer tied with psychological needs.

By this interpretation we mean that people have very likely rated the media along the utility statements on the basis of their advance experiences. On the other hand, if at this time they have no practical problem or other dilemma to be solved, they would have no need to seek advisory or other similar content. This is one possible means of explaining why the purposes of utility are not very strongly related to consumption of corresponding content. If this interpretation holds true, then there is no need to suspect that responses to utility statements are disturbed.

There is, however, at least one other possible interpretation. As Lundberg and Hultén (1968, 101-107) found, advice for everyday problems is sought from other sources to a somewhat greater extent than from mass media. Therefore also the utility statements may be to some extent or to some people inadequate with respect to mass media. In this case the results would be somewhat unreliable and, therefore, also to some extent invalid. 63

Regarding the dimension of orientation gratifications we found, as we assumed, that it was related to consumption of corresponding

content clearly more closely than the other dimensions. But does this result indicate that the responses to statements reflecting orientation purposes in a truthful way reveal the extent to which these purposes are gratified by mass media. Of course not necessarily.

We emphasized above that subcultural differences may have affected the emergence of gratification factors. Also the dependencies between orientation gratifications and consumption of information content may have been produced by such subcultural differences in a similar way. That is, if orientation gratifications and corresponding content are in some subculture held in higher esteem than in some other, then this phenomenon may account for their relationship.

If this is the case we are left with the same dilemma as before. That is to say, either the dependencies reflect relationships between real conceptions and real behavior or they reflect merely apparent conceptions, which are tied together by subcultural standards or norms. In the latter case the responses both to purpose-statements and to consumption questions would be culturally determined, having no correspondence to real gratifications and real consumption behaviour. Unfortunately we have no means in this report of solving this dilemma. In the next section we will, however, explore the relations of subcultural differences to gratification dimensions and content consumption.

4. EDUCATION, DIMENSIONS OF GRATIFICATIONS AND CONTENT CHOICES

As for instance Schneider and Lysgaard (1953) have summarized, numerous investigations have shown that in many areas of life behaviour patterns and general life values of people belonging to lower social strata differ from those of higher strata people so much that we can speak about different styles of life[1]. The life style of lower strata people is characterized by effort for immediate rewards while in that of higher strata people the deferred or delayed gratification pattern is more manifest.

Attempts have been made to interpret this difference for instance on the basis of differences between occupations peculiar to lower and higher strata (Kohn 1963, 475-476), or on the basis of different life chances in the strata (for instance Dembo 1972). This latter interpretation means that to postpone pleasure for a time it is necessary to be certain that ultimate reward will come and will be worth waiting for. If this seems improbable, as it does in lower strata, people will take what they can while they are sure of having it.

It is natural to expect that such differences in life styles will also appear in conceptions concerning mass media and in their use. If we tie in these above points of view with the Schrammian framework presented previously, we can assume that people belonging to lower strata are more apt to associate diversion gratifications with their mass media use while people belonging to higher strata are more apt to ascribe orientation gratifications to it. Similarly we

[1] In Finland Blom (1967) has summarized several later investigations from different countries which in general support this point of view.

can assume that the former expose themselves more often to entertainment content while the latter expose themselves more often to information content.

If this is the case, however, we meet the same dilemma mentioned in the previous pages. That is, such results may reflect real differences between mass media conceptions and use of these people or they may reflect only that these people valuate purpose-statements and media content differently, on the basis of the norms or modes of conduct peculiar to their subculture. If the assumed differences are found, they would, in the latter case, be only differences in reactions to the verbal stimuli in the questions. Perhaps, then, there would be no real differences in gratifications obtained or content consumption between the different social strata.

As we said previously, we have in this report no means of solving this problem. Therefore it would be more interesting if our assumptionswere not supported. If for instance people belonging to higher strata consider statements reflecting diversion purposes as less important reasons for their mass media use than lower strata people, while they actually consume equally much or even more entertainment content than the latter, then there would be a clear conflict between gratifications ascribed to the media and their use. Such kind of conflict could indicate that the reactions either to purpose-statements or to content questions are not 'real' but determined by subcultural norms. There are, of course, also other possibilities for interpreting such a result.

Thus far we have spoken rather loosely about different strata or subcultures. Here the level of formal or basic education will be used as their indicator. While this decision can be objected to, it can also be vindicated. Firstly, the correlations between various 'objective' indicators - occupational status, level of income,

level of education etc. - have in general been found to be quite high. Secondly, of the different possible indicators education may be the most important particularly with respect to conceptions of and behaviour in the intellectual area of life.

Our point of departure is, when using education as indicator of social stratification, that the differences in life styles are not only qualitative but that they can be described in quantitative terms, too. By this we mean that the deferred gratification pattern should be the more and the immediate gratification pattern the less pronounced the higher the level of education. Accordingly we assume that with a growing level of education the importance of orientation gratifications and the use of information content increases while the importance of diversion gratifications and the use of entertainment content decreases. Regarding the utility gratifications and the use of corresponding content no assumption will be made.

4.1. Relations of education to gratification dimensions and to content choices

According to the above reasoning we are here interested to see whether the importance of different gratifications and the consumption of different content grows or diminishes in the assumed way with growing or decreasing level of education. In order to explore this we computed first correlations between education and gratification scales with respect to mass media use in general and to use of each medium particularly. Gratification scales were the same as used previously. These correlations are shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Correlations between education and gratification scales with respect to media in general and to each medium in particular (MG = media in general, LN = local newspaper, ON = other newspapers, TV = television and RD = radio).

	media				
the scale of	MG	LN	ON	TV	RD
orientation gratifications	.04	-.21	.25	.12	.03
utility gratifications	-.18	-.23	-.06	-.18	-.20
diversion gratifications	-.09	-.20	-.07	-.14	-.06
(N =)	(303)	(303)	(241)	(244)	(296)

We also computed the mean values of these scales in three educational groups to ascertain that the relationships being subjected to investigation were linear. With few exceptions they were found to be so. The couple of exceptions took place in cases where also the correlations were low. They were not, however, very interesting from the point of view of our problem here.

The correlations in Table 11 show that with the exception of the local newspaper the importance of orientation gratifications grows with increasing level of education, although the correlations in the cases of media in general and radio are insignificant. On the other hand, the importance of diversion gratifications diminishes with increasing level of education with respect to all media. These correlations, however, are significant only with respect to local newspaper and television. Thus these results have in broad outline supported our assumptions, although the dependencies are in general quite low and many of them statistically insignificant. We observe further that the importance of utility gratifications decreases with growing level of education. These correlations are statistically significant with the exception of other newspapers.

In this context it is interesting to see how education is related to the dimensions of gratifications associated with library use and with participation in adult education. When education in the

former study was correlated with the most crucial purpose-statements in different factors the following correlations were obtained. The correlation of education with the statement having highest loading in the orientation factor was -.10. with that in the utility factor .17 and with that in the diversion factor -.13 (Tiihonen 1972, 95). None of these correlations is statistically significant due to the low number of respondents.

In the latter study the statements most highly loaded in the different factors were scaled to represent these gratification dimensions. The correlation of education with the scale representing orientation gratifications was .19, with the scale representing utility gratifications .12 and with the scale representing diversion gratifications -.15 (Lehtonen and Tuomisto 1973, 178). All of these are statistically significant owing to the large number of respondents.

We see, then, that with respect to different institutions education relates differently to the gratification dimensions. The only consistent result is that with growing level of education the importance of diversion gratifications diminishes. The importance of orientation gratifications grows with it in the cases of mass media use and adult education participation, but not in the case of library use. On the other hand, the importance of utility gratifications grows with it in the cases of library use and adult education participation, but not in that of mass media use.

Perhaps these results indicate that with growing level of education the behaviour vis-à-vis the different institutions becomes more rational. At least the result concerning utility gratifications 69
points in this direction, because it sounds reasonable that mass media are not so valid in this respect as the other institutions. On the other hand, it is somewhat surprising that the lower educated

rated library more important than the higher educated with respect to orientation purposes. This result, however, may be due to chance alone.

Regarding the mass media the most surprising result is that with growing level of education local newspaper is rated lower with respect to all gratification dimensions. This result, however, is explained in that the appreciation of it in terms of different purposes depends on how many and how large other newspapers are read. The more and the larger papers are read, the less important the local newspaper seems to be. This reading of other newspapers, again, depends positively on the level of education.

As we have seen, the previous results supported our assumption in broad outline. Let us next see how education is related to content consumption from the media. In order to explore this we computed the correlations of education with the content and programme scales presented previously. These are presented in the figure-setting below. The correlations of education with consumption of content categories and programmes taken individually are presented in Appendix 1, Tables 2 and 3.

content scales of local newspaper (N = 303)	scale of 'heavy' matters	-.19
	scale of general news	-.26
	scale of local events	-.09
	scale of advertisements	-.14
	scale of special matters	.12
	scale of religious interests	-.0[illegible]
	scale of 'light' matters	-.22
programme scales of television (N= 244)	scale of news and current affairs	.15
	scale of general information	.08
	scale of entertainment	.18
programme scales of radio (N=296)	scale of news and current affairs	-.06
	scale of general information	-.01
	scale of entertainment	-.15
	advisory programme	-.07

Regarding the content scales of local newspaper we see that with the exception of the scale of special matters the reading of all the other content diminishes as level of education grows. This de-

pends on the same thing as the negative correlations between education and importance of all dimensions of gratifications associated with its use, which was commented on above. So we will pass by this result without any further comments.

Although the correlations between education and programme scales of electronic media are pretty small, they are nevertheless a little surprising. According to them education is related, not to consumption of certain types of programmes as we assumed, but to consumption of programmes of a given medium. That is to say, the higher the level of education, the more television and the fewer radio programmes are consumed.

This finding is rather curious, because it is generally believed that with increasing formal education time spent on both electronic media diminishes. However, results obtained regarding this question have been conflicting, at least in Finland. When it has been asked in usual surveys, the results have consistently been in line with this belief (see for instance Nordenstreng 1968 or 1969a). On the other hand, when it has been measured on the basis of records people have kept of programmes they have exposed themselves to, it has been observed that this belief holds true only concerning radio listening. The time spent with television does not vary with regard to educational level in any noticeable degree.

This conflict between the results is rather interesting, because it indicates that people with high education have obvious difficulties when answering questions concerning their television use in surveys. It is very likely that these difficulties depend on cultural norms prevailing in higher social strata, according to which television watching does not seem to be a very "respectable" activity. This same ambivalence has been described for instance by Steiner (1963). These points of view make the above result more understandable.

Comparing now the results obtained regarding the relations of education to gratification dimensions and to programme consumption we observe that these are in general in the assumed direction. The most clear exception to this tendency is that although the importance of diversion gratifications with respect to television use diminishes with growing level of education, the consumption of entertainment programmes increases with it. This may indicate that there is a conflict between norms of higher social strata and actual media behaviour of people belonging to these strata.

There are, it is true, other possibilities for interpreting this result. For instance people with higher education may be more able to recognitze the programmes asked and to remember to what extent they have exposed themselves to them. This interpretation does not sound very plausible, however, because similar results should have been observed also with respect to radio programmes. Another interpretation would be that people with higher education indeed expose themselves more than people with lower education to entertainment programmes of foreign origin. This interpretation sounds more plausible, because the correlation between education and exposure to the Finnish entertainment programme ("The Adventures of the Tammela Family", see Table 3 in Appendix 1) is negative.

Perhaps, then, there is no difference between different levels of education regarding the consumption of entertainment programmes as a whole, but a difference exists between the types of programmes choosed, so that with growing level of education choices will more pronouncedly be directed toward foreign origin programmes. If this is the case, there then would remain some conflict between gratifications ascribed to television by higher strata people and their content consumption.

The most obvious result in this section is, however, that education or social position had no very intimate relations either to gratification dimensions or to types of content consumed. Despite this the relations between gratification dimensions and content consumption considered in the previous section may have been produced by education, because in general it was related similarly to these variables. We will examine this more closely in the next chapter.

4.2. Relationships between gratification dimensions and content choices when education is held constant

The most sensitive procedure for exploring whether or not education has produced the dependencies between gratification dimensions and content consumption is to compute the partial correlation between the latter variables when education is held constant. These and their differences from the original correlations are presented in Table 12.

This table indicates that education had only a very insignificant effect on the relationships subjected to investigation. The correlations do not weaken noticeably in any case when the effect of it is cancelled out. Thus the differences between the different levels of education or different social strata regarding the gratifications ascribed to media use as well as regarding the types of content consumed from them are, finally, very small.

4.3. Conclusions

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Before we go over to comment on previous results we will present some results of Kjellmor (1973) penetrating the same problem. As will be remembered, his factor analysis regarding the gratifications associated with use of television and radio yielded factors which on the basis of his description resembled those obtained in this

Table 12. Partial correlations between gratification and content scales of media when education is held constant (their differences from original correlations are given in parenthesis; N=303 for local newspaper, 244 for television and 296 for radio).

	gratification scales		
content scales of local newspaper	orientation	utility	diversion
scale of 'heavy' matters	.37 (-.03)	.23 (-.04)	.18 (-.03)
scale of general news	.38 (-.04)	.30 (-.04)	.14 (-.04)
scale of local events	.19 (-.01)	.15 (-.01)	.08 (-.01)
scale of advertisements	.20 (-.03)	.18 (-.02)	.03 (-.03)
scale of special matters	.29 (+.03)	.27 (+.03)	.24 (+.03)
scale of religious interests	.26 (-.01)	.17 (-.01)	.15 (-.01)
scale of 'light' matters	.19 (-.04)	.16 (-.04)	.19 (-.04)
programme scales of television			
scale of news and current affairs	.20 (-.02)	-.02 (+.03)	-.03 (+.03)
scale of general information	.23 (-.01)	.23 (+.02)	.13 (+.01)
scale of entertainment	.22 (-.01)	.14 (+.03)	.11 (+.03)
programme scales of radio			
scale of news and current affairs	.42 (.00)	.33 (-.01)	.24 (.00)
scale of general information	.32 (.00)	.38 (+.01)	.24 (.00)
scale of entertainment	.28 (.00)	.29 (-.03)	.21 (-.01)
advisory programme	.34 (.00)	.33 (-.02)	.22 (.00)

study. When he correlated indices constructed on the basis of the factors with social position, he obtained the following results. With respect to television, the correlation of social position with the index of "self-improvement" factor (orientation in our terms) was .18, with that of "social utility" factor (utility in our terms) -.09 and with that of "freedom from responsibility and role obligations" factor (diversion in our terms) -.16. With respect to radio the correlations were .10, -.14 and -.11, respectively. 74

These results correspond quite well with ours, although the strenght of the correlations varies somewhat. Further, the correlations in both studies are rather low. Nevertheless they indicate that there are differences between different levels of education or

social position as to what kinds of gratifications are ascribed to the use of mass media. The higher the level of education or social position, the more important the orientation gratifications and the less important the other gratifications are held as reasons for mass media use.

However, according to our results such conceptions are not in every case followed by corresponding content consumption. It seems that content consumption in different social strata depends more on the medium through which the content is transmitted than on the types of it. People belonging to lower social strata seem to consume more than people in higher strata content of local newspaper and radio while the latter consume more television content and, probably, also content of other newspapers. As we noted before, this is a rather curious finding from the point of view of those survey studies indicating that with growing level of education also the time spent with television diminishes.

In Kjellmor's study the actual consumption of different types of programmes was not considered. Instead of it Kjellmor considered attitudinal programme type orientation, which seems to denote appreciation, not consumption, of different types of content. When he correlated indices formed to represent attitudinal orientation toward entertainment and highbrow (information) content with indices of gratification factors, he found that with respect to both electronic media the index of the "self-improvement" factor correlated with appreciation of highbrow content and that of the "freedom from responsibility and role obligations" factor with appreciation of entertainment content more strongly than vice versa. He found further that the higher the social position was, the more highbrow content and the less entertainment content was appreciated. 75

In a recent Finnish survey (Sauli 1973) people were asked what kind of issues should be treated more on radio and television for the programmes to benefit them in their everyday life. Although the

question was formed to bring out practical utility, there were also answers in which wishes for orientation information and entertainment matters were present. When the answers were classified according to the types of knowledge wished for, the following differences between less (only elementary school) and highly (more than elementary school) educated people were found.

Of the less educated people 20 per cent wished for orientation information, 48 per cent for information valuable from the point of view of practical utility and 18 per cent for entertainment matters. The figures among highly educated people were 48 per cent, 50 per cent and 24 per cent, respectively (the sum of percentages in the latter group exceeds 100, because several answers could be classified in more than one gategory). We see, then, that highly educated people have wished for all kinds of information more than less educated people, but that the difference between them is clearer only regarding information for orientation.

On the basis of these results it seems that both social position and gratification dimensions have stronger relations to appreciation of or wishes for different content than to actual consumption of it. Thus the differences between life styles of social strata seem to affect more the different conceptions and appreciations than actual mass media consumption. From these points of view it is important to introduce into the study variables concerning content valuation (cf. Lundberg and Hultén 1968, 56-64). We have also planned to look into this question in subsequent reports.

Let us finally consider what our results in this last section indicate concerning the question of the 'truthfulness' of the 76 responses to purpose-statements. As we said before, most revealing in this respect would have been if the gratifications and content consumption had been conflicting with respect to different social

strata. With few exceptions, however, such conflicts were not found. The most interesting of these exceptions was that with growing level of education the importance of diversion gratifications with respect to television diminished while the consumption of entertainment content from it increased.

On the basis of this result and results in earlier sections it seems that the statements reflecting purposes of diversion are most questionable as far as their validity is concerned. Concerning the other gratification dimensions the results are on the whole in agreement with assumptions. Perhaps the statements reflecting these latter dimensions are thus more valid.

5. SUMMARY AND FINAL CONCLUSIONS

In this report we investigated first, with the assistance of three sets of empirical data, what kinds of gratification dimensions different purposes associated with mass media and library use and participation in adult education form in people's minds. Although the purpose-statements used as measuring instruments formed a rather cumulative pattern vis-à-vis all the institutions being rated, there were behind this cumulative tendency some dimensions differing more or less from each other. Most interesting was that with one exception these dimensions were crucially the same for the different institutions.

One of these dimensions reflected the use of these institutions for purposes of orientation, another their use for purposes of diversion and the third their use for purposes of practical utility. The emergence of these dimensions is rather understandable on the basis of the conceptions some theorists and investigators have presented concerning the nature and types of knowledge.

As Tiihonen (1972, 92-94) has pointed out, the scheme of Scheeler (1926) concerning the forms of knowledge (Wissensformen) already has some correspondence to these dimensions. On the basis of this Landheer (1958, 19-30) has distinguished between three different types of book-reading, which are called devotional reading, culture reading and achievement reading. Of these devotional reading is characterized by effort for satisfaction of orientation purposes while that of achievement reading is characterized by effort for satisfaction of utility purposes. The relation of diversion purposes

to these reading types is more obscure, but, because culture reading is characterized as an end in itself, it seems to correspond most closely to diversion purposes (cf. Tiihonen 1972, 94).

Although the emergence of these dimensions is understandable, another question is what phenomena have caused them. Perhaps they are based on people's personal experiences and through them on their needs. On the other hand, the emergence of these dimensions may only reflect common cultural conceptions or usages people have learned to associate with these institutions. Also subcultural differences as to what purposes are appreciated and what not may account for their emergence. In the latter cases the responses to purpose-statements may not necessarily tell anything about the individual needs behind the use of these institutions.

The same holds true regarding the reported importance of different purposes as reasons for use of these institutions. If we take the results at their face value, however, it seems that with regard to all of the institutions purposes of orientation are the most important reasons for their use. Purposes entailing diversion and practical utility are less important in this respect, with the exception of adult education, where also the latter purposes are rather important. Of mass media television seems to be most versatile in fulfilling the different purposes. The functional role of newspapers is composed of orientation and utility purposes while that of radio is composed of diversion purposes.

We investigated secondly how the dimensions of gratifications associated with the use of a given medium were related to the types of content consumed mostly from it. Here our point of departure was that if the use of that medium for given purposes is followed by consumption of content, which in 'objective' terms would be best suited for gratifying the purposes in question, there would then

content serving diversion and utility purposes. This expectation was not confirmed entirely, because content consumption in the different strata seemed to depend more on the medium through which the content is transmitted, than on the types of it. Despite this social position was in general related similarly to types of content consumed as to types of gratifications. The most interesting exception was that, with respect to television, the importance of diversion gratifications diminished with growing level of education while consumption of entertainment content increased with it.

On the basis of thes. results it is rather difficult to decide to what extent the responses to purpose-statements reflect 'real' gratifications obtained from media and to what extent they are determined by cultural prejudices, common usages or subcultural differences. There are, however, some reasons to suspect that at least responses to statements reflecting diversion gratifications are not very valid. In this respect the most revealing result is the following. Of the diversion statements used in the study of mass media use one was phrased as follows: "to pass my leisure time". This was considered as a rather unimportant reason for mass media use - as were also the other diversion statements. In the study of library use the same statement was phrased a little differently, "to relax or to pass my leisure time". In this study this statement was considered as the most important reason for the use. 80

One possible interpretation for this conflicting result is that simply to pass one's leisure time is not very legitimate in our culture. That is to say, it indicates idleness or inactivity, at least in its Finnish formulation. But as soon as the concept "to relax" is added to it, it sounds far more legitimate, because to relax oneself is in a manner a necessity for life. If this is the case it indicates that responses to various purpose-statements depend

to a great extent on the verbal formulation of them. On the basis of this it seems that before we can draw any further conclusions as to the goal intensity of different purpose-statements or instrumentality of media in fulfilling them we should first examine the social acceptability of these statements.

This research has shown that there are a considerable number of difficulties in uses and gratifications studies, at least if they are outlined in a similar manner as here. These difficulties depend mostly on the fact that there are numerous possibilities for interpreting the results obtained. Thus, as things are now, the uses and gratifications studies would not seem very productive. In order to establish firmer ground for conclusions, more effort is necessary in refining the concept and theory of need. Also the measuring instruments and research methods in general should be submitted to a more detailed and critical scrutiny.

APPENDIX 1

Table 1. Mean values of purpose-statements with regard to mass media (LN = local newspaper, N = 303; ON = other newspapers, N = 241; TV = television, N = 244 and RD = radio, N = 296).

purpose-statements	media			
(I use LN/ON/TV/RD in order ....)	LN	ON	TV	RD
to gather information on the background of different events	4.5	4.4	4.8	4.2
to keep me up with the times	5.3	5.0	5.6	4.
to gather information on new products	4.4	4.4	4.1	3.0
to get help in solving problems	3.2	3.1	2.7	2.7
to get something to talk about with others	3.5	3.2	3.7	3.1
to get away from daily worries	2.9	2.7	4.6	3.7
to bring some excitement into my life	2.3	2.7	3.9	2.7
to prevent feelings of being alone	2.8	2.5	3.8	3.3
to pass my leisure time	2.9	2.7	4.3	3.5
to enjoy reading, watching or listening	4.0	3.7	5.2	4.5

Table 2. Correlations of gratification scales and education with reading of different content from local newspaper (OGS = scale of orientation gratifications, UGS = scale of utility gratifications, DGS = scale of diversion gratifications, EDUC = education; N = 303).

content categories	OGS	UGS	DGS	EDUC
editorials and political feuilletons	.37	.26	.21	-.19
other articles on editorial page	.33	.22	.17	-.15
foreign news	.35	.29	.14	-.18
national news	.41	.34	.19	-.30
regional events	.18	.14	.06	-.08
local events	.16	.14	.10	-.07
news of crime and accident	.25	.22	.22	-.24
sports news	.13	.11	.15	-.13
organizational affairs	.19	.18	.20	.11
agricultural matters	.14	.17	.24	-.25
military affairs	.24	.22	.15	.10
culture and the arts	.23	.16	.13	.12
column for adolescents	.27	.17	.14	-.07
comic strips	.14	.11	.13	-.17
advertisements	.13	.15	.01	-.11
other announcements	.28	.21	.09	-.14
congregational affairs	.25	.16	.14	-.07
shipping affairs	.09	.09	-.01	.03
interpretive writings	.26	.10	.11	-.04
death announcements, birthdays etc.	.24	.16	.16	-.03

Table 3. Correlations of gratification scales and education with consumption of television and radio programmes (OGS = scale of orientation gratifications, UGS = scale of utility gratifications, DGS = scale of diversion gratifications, EDUC = education; N = 244 for television and 296 for radio).

television programmes	OGS	UGS	DGS	EDUC
newscasts	.18	.07	-.03	.11
Wednesday	.16	-.09	-.05	.12
Adventures of the Tammela Family	.17	.15	.09	-.15
The Untouchables	.18	.10	.06	.12
Mosaic	.24	.15	.10	.09
At the Watershed	.17	.21	.11	.06
The Danny Kaye Show	.20	.07	.07	.17
radio programmes				
newscasts	.35	.31	.25	-.05
The Mirror of the Day	.34	.25	.15	-.05
Eight at the Top	.11	.20	.12	-.11
Double or Quits	.32	.41	.34	-.15
A Day in World Politics	.28	.32	.22	-.04
Arena Debate	.29	.35	.21	.02
A Present in Melodies	.35	.34	.25	-.15
Letter-Box for Social Problems	.34	.35	.22	-.07

APPENDIX 2: References

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